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A MAN'S UNCONSCIOUS PHANTASY OF PREGNANCY IN THE GUISE OF TRAUMATIC HYSTERIA

A CLINICAL CONTRIBUTION TO ANAL EROTISM[1]

by

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PART I

In 1908, Freud in his 'Character and Anal Erotism' drew attention to the impulses included under the description anal-erotic, and to their great significance in the development of the Ego factor of the personality; since then the limits of this theme have been extended ever further in the steadily accumulating investigations of many authors, and its fundamental importance made manifest. Such work could apparently only be carried through in the teeth of manifold resistances, on the part not only of the outsider but also of the student of analysis himself, because the psychic constellations concerned are subject to the most diverse transformations; for similar reasons wherever they are found, the solution of the most outstanding problems of the psycho-analytic treatment is concerned. It will suffice only to allude to the results, for they are intimately bound up with the progress of psycho-analysis in the last decade, and are consequently well known. Despite the fertility and wide ramifications embraced in the relevant literature published hitherto, it is

[1] Translated by F. R. Winton.

deficient in one respect, namely *detailed* presentation of the circumstances of anal erotism, so far as they have been elucidated, within the framework of its corresponding clinical entity. Freud alone continues to produce masterly contributions along these lines. I refer to the relevant sections of his papers: 'Bemerkungen über einen Fall von Zwangsneurose' (Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 3. Folge) and 'Aus der Geschichte einer infantilen Neurose' (*Ibid,* 4. Folge.)[1]

In both expositions he lets one realize vividly the laborious path of analysis; the new discoveries are seen in the process of being made, and one may guess against what resistances they have been evolved. The following case, which proved to be a severe neurosis erected upon fixation of the anal-erotic components, is to be presented clinically in accordance with this method. I need hardly add that the material examined, which was obtained during the course of some seven months, is certainly lacking in completeness and has not always served to make theoretical relationships clear; meanwhile, however, the treatment had achieved on the one hand recovery of the patient, and on the other a stage at which some significant correlations and discoveries could be established. With due regard to the special features of the case, I will now let the description of the course of the analysis follow. The actual structure of the neurosis naturally only became evident at the conclusion of the treatment; nevertheless in the interests of lucidity I shall not adhere strictly to the chronological method of record, but leaven this with elements of the subsequent synthesis. This is inevitable in any presentation in which elegance is an aim.

J. V., aged thirty-one years, a tramway employee, gave the following account of the onset of his illness. Two and a half years ago he fell off the step of his car at full speed, and was bruised on the head, forearm and loin. All the injuries affected the left side. He lost consciousness, and was conveyed from the scene of the accident to the surgical side of a hospital. In the meantime he regained consciousness, and it was at once evident that the injuries were slight, and only that to the head would

[1] Between these come the theoretically most important two essays: 'Die Disposition zur Zwangsneurose' (*Internat. Zeitschr. f. Psa.,* 1913) and 'Über Triebumsetzungen insbesondere der Analerotik' (*Internat. Zeitschr. f. Psa.,* 1916), to which I shall refer later. Likewise I would emphasize the pertinent work of Jones from the point of view of its wealth in casuistic and other material.

need stitching, those to the forearm and side being but skin abrasions. No sort of internal injury was supposed to exist at that time. During his stay at the hospital, the doctor in charge of his treatment also had the injured parts X-rayed with negative results. Three weeks after admission, he left hospital cured. He again took up his work and after a short time felt quite fit. Some weeks later pains set in beneath the first rib on the affected side occurring at first rarely, but soon more frequently, until they partook of the character of regular attacks. They took place at short intervals, about fortnightly, lasted fourteen to sixteen hours, and passed off again. During an attack he felt a boring pain in the left side 'as if a solid object was trying to emerge', afterwards he was exhausted and required rest. However the intervals between attacks passed without the appearance of any particular phenomena, excepting a slight stitch in the side which occurred along with any considerable excitement. In time the condition became more and more obstinate and intolerable. He had often to neglect work, and sought out all the various hospitals, where they were eventually baffled by his complaints. Toward the end of the second year of his illness, he had lost consciousness in three consecutive acute attacks, and they sent him on to the neurological department. On the strength of the negative findings of surgeons and physicians, a diagnosis of Traumatic Hysteria was made. As such, the case was submitted to psycho-analytic treament.

At the outset of the course, before the history of the case could be written down in any detail, all the signs of a stormy transference set in and engaged my whole attention; it was only later shown that the explanation lay in his many years of previous treatment and experiences with other doctors. I must confess that I found the behaviour of the patient at this time very strange, and the possibility of a mistaken diagnosis just passed through my mind. At the very beginning of analysis, he performed two peculiar actions, of which the first was relatively intelligible, but the second seemed completely nonsensical. Soon after the beginning of the first hour he stood up without any particular occasion, and said he had felt exactly as if the couch had rolled off with him. Obviously it was an attempt to escape from his unaccustomed situation and the presence of the physician. When at length I had persuaded him to lie down again, he was incapable of producing coherent ideas. At the close of the hour, on my departure, he

remained standing awhile and stared at me with protruding throat and eyes widely dilated. He gave the impression of one demented; long after, I was able to find the explanation of this evanescent 'symptomatic act', which I shall take up at its proper place in the record. Some days later he introduced a fresh and quite unambiguous symptomatic act, which allowed the first insight into his unconscious mental life: he rose from the couch, made an awkward turning movement, and fell back again flat on his face with his legs dangling. This indirect expression of his passive homosexual attitude towards the doctor he attributed to a sudden fainting fit. Its intensity and the form it took at so early a stage of the analysis had its own particular significance. The same attitude also found expression in the dreams of this introductory period. Once he dreamed of a fight with a lion that bit him in the left shoulder; and again, he was quarrelling with a younger brother who wanted to shoot him down. In a third dream he was trying to enter the royal train (it was a few weeks after the revolution) but was surrounded by soldiers who threatened him with a dreadful punishment which they did not name. Lastly he dreamed a scene from his military training, in which a superior dug him in the ribs in fun. Most important in all these dreams, which succeeded one another as it were according to programme and undisguisedly represented the passive homosexuality of the dreamer, was the progressive demolition of the unconscious phantasies underlying them. The reaction which at first took so violent, almost archaic-mythical, a form of expression, became finally transformed into slight facetiousness. Very little material actually recollected was however gleaned from these dreams. Here, as in the case of the symptomatic act, the patient seemed at once to admit all and to conceal all. As before he maintained reserve with respect to the demands of analysis, and was little inclined to communicate his thoughts freely. It could not well be a question of resistance nor of misunderstanding in regard to the treatment, for he had already accommodated himself to the guiding rules of analysis in accordance with the complex of his unconscious constellation. I can now only refer to his behaviour as somewhat 'close', but I shall go into this more fully later.

The transition to a gentler and at once more rational transference was accomplished by a new series of dreams, which according to their content belonged to the well-known type of

flying-dreams. He was flying alone in the open, or in a room full of onlookers, and in this way took a narcissistic delight in his body, determined by regression of feeling. In connection with these dreams too, only scarce memories could be collected; they were not related to his real environment, but served purely as an expression of the tension current within him. Neither this nor the first type of dream occurred again during the many months of analysis; I must therefore regard them as a means of compensation or adaptation to the treatment.

After such diverse interludes, I was at last able to induce a thoroughgoing discussion of the circumstances which formed the occasion of his falling ill. Nevertheless the results of this must be postponed in favour of the characterology of the patient as hitherto established. Taken together, both thereafter constituted the actual programme of work of the analysis.

The patient gave one the impression of a self-confident and methodical man, working with a view to consolidation of his circumstances. Several changes of occupation, which I shall describe more closely below, had enabled him steadily to improve his standard of living; and taking an energetic part in aims common to his rank for the time being, he was yet able to further his own interests. He was now the leader of his group of workers in social and political questions, and his words carried weight. At the same time, he showed great moderation in his views, and was good at propagating them among his fellows. In such wise he had found it possible to sublimate a great part of his homosexual libido and hold it in equilibrium. Herein moreover his marked conceit was rooted. He appeared to be gifted as a speaker; his style tended towards expletives and pithy expression, and he could turn a phrase with most amusing effect. However, he thought thoroughly sensibly, and every action evidently followed mature consideration. Men of his sort have no true sense of style, they are deficient in the observational factor of the process of thought, and may be said to think by action. He showed moreover an insatiable desire for education, but in the absence of suitable authoritative guidance he had become self-taught, and so combined some originality with considerable oddity. Thus for years he had kept copies of everything that interested him, and so had collected a manuscript library. From time to time he would transfer these notes—poems, newspaper articles on various

subjects, and so on,—to new volumes: he would as it were make cleaner what was already clean. His attitude towards money was entirely rational; at one point only could anal erotism be detected: he disliked soiled notes and either passed them on to his wife, or despite his thrift spent them without adequate cause. He enjoyed memorizing passages that suited him; and even though he failed to understand genuine lyrical verse, he thoroughly appreciated the emotional variety, partly because it was rhymed. Moreover he kept a sort of diary, in which actual dates of general importance were noted; he had no talent whatever for personal outpourings. In addition to copying, he liked drawing up accounts and balance sheets. Everything connected with this business of writing was kept in perfect order, it was all at his fingers ends, and created an immense impression in his simple surroundings. Sublimated anal erotism evident in all this was further betrayed by a material interest in the physical processes of life,[1] and also by his efforts in diverse ways permanently to establish himself. Most particularly did biological questions stimulate his interest, and especially that of evolution. Information in this field had been gleaned partly from popular literature, and partly by unofficial visits, facilitated by the staff, to appropriate scientific institutions. The earliest incitements in this direction dated from boyhood, the child's impressions of the farmyard, and could be traced back step by step to typical infantile curiosity. Rearing of domestic animals and still more of fowls had had a particular fascination for him. He related how for a time, as a boy, he had really cared about the business of hatching, to which interest numberless hen's and bird's eggs had been sacrificed. Later each time he had changed his calling, he had seriously thought of taking to the country and carrying on fowl breeding on a large scale. To all appearances this desire was so strong in him that he was sure one day to realise it. In the meantime he had to be content with pet singing birds, of which he kept several in the house, and which he fed and looked after himself. The remainder of his ornithological hobbies found play in neighbouring woods. At the time of the analysis, for several weeks, he would visit the habitat of a wood-pecker and watch it with obvious enjoyment, knocking in order to entice its insect prey. All the

[1] Cf. Ernest Jones: 'Anal-erotic character traits.' Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 2nd. Ed., p. 664.

peculiarities described, and to be developed further, can at once be recognised as representatives, disguised and so compatible with consciousness, of such of the patient's complexes as appeared, if not pathogenic, at least exaggerated.

Along with these enquiries the family history came to light, but I will confine myself here only to its most essential points. He came of peasants, as an eldest child, and they still lived on the farm where he had been brought up. Eight of the fourteen children of the marriage were alive. The youngest, a seven year old sister, had some relation to the patient's neurosis; likewise the eldest sister, a girl of twenty-four, whose way of living he judged most harshly without adequate cause. We found that his sexual researches had been very active at the time of her birth. He had noted enviously how tenderly they anticipated her arrival; a screen-memory involved the wish for her death. Later too, he had felt no more gently towards her, and by unconscious identification with the father, had constantly found something to criticise. On a visit to his parents during treatment he turned her suitor out of the house. The significance of the youngest sister was cleared up only at the climax of the treatment. He had no very strong feelings about his brothers, in relation to whom he rather fancied himself as the first-born; to one only, who had been drowned in adolescence, was his attitude of any consequence. He had lent him the money to bathe, and so for a time felt partly guilty of his death. He was then sixteen years old. This memory still contributed to the feelings he experienced as driver in accidents involving others.

Very vivid memories of earliest years were centered round the grandparents, who had lived at home with them. The respect shown to them by the grown-ups had intensified their consequence in the eyes of the child. He told of his grandmother that she had taken his mother's place in the house during the latter's frequent lying up with child, and had insisted on great tidiness; he was said to have inherited this character trait from her. He had been told that at nine months he had been making his first attempts to walk, or rather to crawl (he had developed very precociously), when his grandmother had unintentionally stepped on his thumb—he had already given up sucking it. So in his memories it fell to the woman to be the first disturber of the pursuit of pleasure. She too was supposed to have uttered the first castration threats.

A particular memory was connected with her toothless mouth, namely that she had carefully collected the teeth she had lost, and preserved them under her bolster. I shall raise this again later and now mention only that it is striking that my patient possessed not a single upper incisor. Memories of the grandfather were recalled less vividly, although the earliest phenomena of transference of a specialised kind (not the above-mentioned impersonal kind) indicated him, and most probably he had been the patient's first narcissistic love-object. Robust and energetic to a great age, he had headed the family as farmers, and had managed the concern according to his own judgement. His presence had put even the father into the shade, and later had made an almost undisturbed, even comradely relationship possible with his son. Actually the patient always behaved towards his father as he had seen the latter behave toward the grandfather. A memory of childhood exhibited him as rescuer of the six-year-old boy from attack by a maddened bull. Another memory recalled him as priding himself as cheesemaker; he was said always to have been able to scent whether a cheese had been made by himself or his wife, which had given rise to jocular references at table. Both father and grandfather had been distinguished by a rigid sense of justice, which the patient took as symbol of independent manliness worthy of imitation. His standpoint in this respect was, as we shall find, rooted yet more deeply.

Unfortunate economic circumstances had persuaded the parents to send him at fourteen years as apprentice to a baker. When he had fully learned his craft, he had gone to the town and worked for some years under a number of employers. He had then been influenced by a favourable opportunity to make his first change of occupation; he had become laboratory assistant at a chemist's. We were able to establish that he had obviously enjoyed both these occupations; as baker he had particularly liked kneading clean dough; there moreover he had learned cookery and the preparation of dishes; in the laboratory he had worked with zest among aromatic and scented fluids. This work too he had deserted for tram-service, following disappointment in love. For the first few years he had been a driver, and had had several street accidents. One had made a very deep impression upon him, when he had ran over a man in the dark, who had been literally cut in two by the car. Later he had obtained a post

as conductor. When not yet twenty-four years old he had married a girl, to whom he had previously paid attentions, but whom he had temporarily left in consequence of a quarrel. The marriage was childless although he had longed for a child from its first days.

A clearer conception of the neurosis, and especially of its crucial points, became possible with a knowledge of all these events. Neither dreams hitherto related by the patient nor other indications pointed near the direction of the accident described above; on the other hand a displacement of accent soon took place in connection with the traumatic adventure; not the fall from the car, but to my surprise, the X-ray examination at the hospital advanced more and more indubitably into the forefront. Next it appeared that the patient had repeatedly and obstinately demanded to be X-rayed afresh, giving always as a rationalized justification that his disease (namely the pain in the left side) must be of an organic nature. This stereotyped wish eventually aroused one's suspicion, which led to the following discoveries: The X-ray examination originally arranged by the acting surgeon had been, it appears, of great psychical significance to the patient. Exposed to strange proceedings, he was brought into a state of anxious expectancy even by having to undress in the presence of a doctor, but still more by the various preliminary manipulations untertaken by the latter (such as fixing little sandbags to his extremities in order to keep them still). Now the lamp was switched on and began to work with its loud sparking, and for a moment he felt paralysed with fear. He readily admits that the examination itself rather disappointed him. In his anxiety he had been convinced that the doctor intended performing some operation in connection with the examination — 'perhaps suddenly thrusting an instrument into his loin'. However nothing much happened. The mental process associated with this was naturally entirely withdrawn from the patient's consciousness, and proceeded to develop in the unconscious. The whole adventure thus became a nucleus round which a libidinous wish-phantasy, of a passive-homosexual nature, might crystallise. Moreover the assumption seemed probable that the wish to be X-rayed anew represented not only a persistent unconscious instinctive tendency, but at the same time an attempt at abreaction: a repetition might even now demolish the painful affect and tension which had not been abreacted at the time. So

far I could form no sure judgement about the degree of thwarting of libido, or other factors determining this wish. Analysis elucidated this too, when the patient had described in detail his attacks of pain, and included many new particulars.

Already twenty-four hours before these began, great restlessness set in. Ordinary incidents, usually without effect on him, now excited him. He became silent and irritable, especially at home where he treated his wife curtly; the more imminent the approach of the attack, the less could he tolerate her proximity or ultimately even her presence. He accounted for this strange behaviour, most important for the resolution of the neurosis, by the significant parallel that when at hospital, every assistance rendered by a woman had irritated him. Particularly had he refused to let one give him an enema; this operation seemed an impossibility for a woman. A sense of shame will not completely explain this behaviour; I discern here too a passive-homosexual factor. He regarded his illness jealously as an exclusively personal affair. If he happened to be asked how he was, he might become furious and flare up; of this I had opportunity of satisfying myself during analysis. Together with his transformation of mood, he suffered from constipation that was not amenable to any drug. Regularly following such prodromal indications, the pain in the side occurred on the next day, and increased for some hours until the patient could neither stand nor sit. Even lying down he could maintain one position only for few minutes. As soon as the pains reached a climax, he became weak and limp. He then had to lie down on his left side, and it eased him to stuff a small bolster under him. Sometimes he would fall asleep in this position after a short while. The attacks which were accompanied by loss of consciousness, were preceded by buzzing in the head, and seeing black before the eyes. Afterwards he felt pricking in all his limbs, and was temporarily dazed. First he passed wind, and finally the constipation too ceased.

This description which was taken almost word for word from the patient, together with an impressive demonstration of his behaviour during an attack which he reproduced in my presence, drove me at length to the idea, which had formerly passed through my mind but was always suppressed as ridiculous, that if this were all true, the attack could represent nothing but a childbirth; moreover the constipation must be a conversion symptom

of an hallucinated pregnancy, brought into close relationship with the X-ray episode.[1]

By this is of course meant an unrecognisable representation, rearranged by the mechanism of the neurosis, to which anal-erotic components contributed suitable matter (partus per anum). The scene is dominated by a persistent infantile trait. In answer to careful enquiry on the point, the patient told me that when ten years old he had heard the groans and cries of a woman in labour. She was neighbour to the family, and for two whole days was unable to give birth to her child, so that at last the doctor had to deliver her with forceps. He had a vivid recollection of her lying on the bed, and holding her knees drawn up during the pains; he had observed her repeatedly unnoticed through a window. He thought he could remember most clearly seeing the mutilated dead child in a wooden trough. The pain in the loin—a mythological necessity, as it were, of the story of the creation, in which Eve is fashioned from Adam's rib—could later be more closely determined by a group of experiences. Nevertheless I am compelled at this point to drop the thread I had taken up, and to interpolate a short description of a nervous intestinal disturbance which the patient had had years ago, and of which the analysis ran parallel to that of the recent illness.

It was in the early years of his marriage, seven years ago, that he had caught a heavy cold at work, which ran its course with high fever. Connected with it after a wearisome convalescence, a peculiar bowel trouble set in. The exact relation between the cold and bowel trouble could not be established, and had it seems not been clear to the doctor treating him at the time. The recent illness indicated that the neurosis tended to develop in connection with an organic process involving pain, in order to break into activity. This suggested the assumption of a maso-chistic fixation, for which the analysis contributed a wealth of

[1] Later when I first told the patient of this state of affairs, with more adequate evidence, he was silent for a time and then replied: 'Dr. K. told my wife much the same thing when she asked him about my condition. He felt he could not fully envisage my complaints; if only I had not been a man he could have understood me more easily.' I must admit that this intuitive confirmation on the part of an unknown colleague, who had thus hit the nail on the head, gave me great satisfaction. Like my predecessor I found of course that this had no effect on the patient at this stage.

further evidence. At first he suddenly felt in the middle of his trip a painful desire to defaecate, and had rapidly to forsake his car. Moreover it always troubled him uselessly, for he could never obtain a motion. Medical treatment was adjusted to the many and changeable complaints and symptoms of the patient, and they tried pretty well everything that one does in the case of bowel disturbance which is not clearly diagnosed. Even a chemical examination of stomach contents was undertaken. The patient's description of this, and a dream following upon it, led at last to the solution of the hitherto unintelligible transient symptomatic acts produced at the beginning of the analysis. In the patient's phantasy, the stomach tube had attained perverse secondary significance (as object of fellatio). His extraordinary behaviour, which quite corresponded to that at a stomach test, the protruded throat, anxiously dilated eyes, etc., was as it were the unconscious consent to a homosexual perversion. This feminine attitude to the doctor was the key to all the symptomatic acts that occurred later too in the course of the cure. From the manifold symptoms of the disease, there crystallised gradually a very obstinate spastic constipation, which we recognise as a hysterical manifestation in Freud's sense. After several months, the continuance of this trouble was endangering the patient's position, and the condition slowly terminated. An extremely effective measure had been suppositories, which, on doctor's orders, were introduced into the rectum. The patient was at the time very satisfied with this treatment. The connection of this spontaneously evaporated monosymptomatic hysteria with the conditions of his life at the time brings out the state of affairs still more clearly. Things happened at work, particularly that he occasionally had run over pedestrians on the streets (among them a boy who fortunately had got caught up in the safety arrangement);[1] these greatly worried him, wherefore he was already thinking of another change of occupation. The circumstances of his marriage contributed very important motives for illness. As I have already recorded, they had not united without disturbances. For not long previously he had heard by accident that there was an illegitimate child. The

[1] A veritable birth-saving phantasy. A sadistic trait too is unmistakable, in response to which the sense of pity is aroused. To recover from his fright, by the way, the patient thrashed the boy like a mother punishing him, after he had brought him forth.

patient was deeply hurt by the faithlessness of his bride, and her want of trust in him; with the child itself, a girl, he put up more readily, and later took it to live with them. However he then felt deceived (the jealousy-constellation, with obvious interest in the seducer), and broke off the relationship they had begun. Several months later he first proposed to come to an amicable agreement. His parents were absent from the wedding, which he regretted grievously. His father was temporarily ill, and his mother lay in bed with child—his youngest sister. As her frequent pregnancies are related, as we shall see, to his infantile anal-erotic desires, one could hardly escape the thought that this time too the repressed instinct may have obtained reinforcing contributions from the favourable circumstance, namely the sister's birth. Having embarked on marriage in such modest circumstances, it was necessary to live economically, al though, following in the parental footsteps, he strove from the first day to possess a well-established household. Here his systematization came in. Everything was to be done properly, and in order—first establishment, then increase of family. For this reason moreover, the satisfaction of his most ardent wish—to have a child—had at all costs to be postponed. This is the right moment at which to examine this wish more closely: intense narcissistic self-love alone could underlie it, for in phantasy he always thought of having male offspring only. The co-operation of the circumstances thus briefly set, which are yet to appear more sharply defined and determined in relation to the whole, and more especially the thwarted life-wish of the patient, rooted in emotionally toned infantile phantasy, suffice to account for the nervous constipation, which in view of all this, can have only one meaning—the expected child is for the time being not to arrive. Equating child with faeces, natural in unconscious thought,[1] was frequently demonstrated in this case from dreams. Our patient did not at that time

[1] Cf. Freud, 'Analyse der Phobie eines fünfjährigen Knaben' ('Lumpftheorie'), Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 3. Folge, 1913; and 'Über Triebumsetzungen insbesondere der Analerotik.' Ibid., 4. Folge, 1918. I would recount here the following from the history of a young woman. With a strong father fixation as a child, she began to suffer from serious constipation at her sixth year (motions once or twice a week, with great struggles). Then her youngest sister was born, and for a long time she was hostile, but later developed an intense almost maternal tenderness towards her. After the death of this sister, melancholic moods set in. Constipation continued with

know that he would be prevented to this day from seeing his wish fulfilled.

Let us now return to the chief symptom of the neurosis, the pain in the loin, the etiology of which I have described as determined by a group of experiences. I shall postpone consideration of its foundation, which is to be sought in anal-erotic wish-phantasies, until I come to the circumstances of childhood and dispositional elements. It might be that these, which were involved in a massive fixation, together with the scene observed at ten years, would alone suffice to direct the patient's labile sexuality into the channel of the neurosis; further occurrences, to which in virtue of his innate disposition he reacted as to traumata, gave the clue. He was once followed by his grandfather, on account of a prank; he fled, but the old man started after him and ultimately caught him. He was less impressed by the thrashing he received, than by the old man's robust legs. Pursuit, and the stitch in the side which followed this running, are closely related in the recollection. A quite analogous if less amusing scene took place somewhat later when he was nine years old. By bad luck, he had knocked out two front teeth of a little girl with a catapult. The injured child's father came along to punish him for the misdeed. He rushed out in terror, and ran away from his pursuer right across an open field. Eventually, when his wind gave out, and exhaustion left him barely conscious, he was overtaken and dealt with. Both these memories of dread of an approaching man were blended with an apparently disconnected experience at fifteen years, which achieved later immense importance on account of the circumstances of the X-ray episode. He caught diphtheria, and was given an injection of antitoxin in the left side[1] by the doctor treating him. The later homosexual wish-phantasy was

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varying intensity for over twenty years, and after marriage, which was at first childless, it became if anything worse. The condition improved markedly every month during the periods. After birth of her first child there was spontaneous and complete cure. Analytic investigation showed in this case too, that the infantile wish for a child (from the father) had been converted into internal symptoms. Maternity eventually shifted the apparently slight disease.

[1] A person's left side counts as feminine, as is known from many neuroses and folk-psychology. Moreover the male genital organ is usually carried on the left side.

superimposed upon this real stimulus. It follows without doubt that in dealing with the psychical forces which arose in connection with the X-ray examination the patient was gravely impeded in mental adaptability by a high degree of 'complex' sensitivity which had developed from the experiences described. It is in this group therefore that we can recognise the immediate exciting causes of the neurosis. The persistence latently, at fifteen years, of the unduly developed anal-erotic instinct-factor was meanwhile confirmed by a peculiar memory. The patient tells that he could not easily bring himself to defaecate in the open, although it was the everyday custom in the circles to which he belonged. In addition to repressed exhibitionism, one can see clearly in this recollection the reaction against his passive homosexuality.[1] Furthermore, the fact of onanism having been transiently practised and smoothly given up during puberty, speaks in favour of other instinctive tendencies having remained prominent at this time, and consequently in childhood.

Let us summarise the results of the analysis up to this point. They lead to the inevitable conclusion that the X-ray episode materially disturbed the equilibrium of the patient's libidinous tendencies. So far the state of affairs would seem completely explained. In regard to two questions, however, which arise directly therefrom, satisfactory answers are still to a large extent outstanding. In connection with the first of these, namely the wish-phantasy made active by the neurosis, many indications strengthen the idea that it has to do with an hallucinated (hysterical) pregnancy, with associated representation of parturition in the attack. As to the second, we suspect with some justice, and particularly on account of insight into the patient's character, that anal-erotic tendencies play a part. It was these, then, that constituted the form of the neurosis, i. e. determined the wish-phantasy. Decisive conclusions on these two subjects, which are continually interrelated and supplementary, can be reached only by searching through the conditions of infant life. The material relevant to this was, as in all analyses, not obtained suddenly at a certain stage, but rather was accumulated at various times by eliciting facts, sometimes spontaneously, sometimes requiring careful re-interpretation. The essential achievement of the analysis is involved in

[1] Boys often amuse themselves by stepping unnoticed behind their playfellow's back for fun to startle him. (Related by the patient.)

this work, both as regards theoretical elucidation, and therapeutically in overcoming the resistances concerned therein.

PART II

One recollection stands out above all in the story of the patient's childhood; it is of an unusual adventure, and as such exercised an influence in later life. This episode had never entirely eluded his consciousness, and cropped up early in the course of treatment. What makes it so remarkable, apart from its content, is the uncommon vividness and accuracy with which every detail had been preserved, although the patient was little more than three years old at the time it happened.[1] In contrast with other experiences, which are remembered repeatedly during psycho-analytic treatment but only become distinct in the later reproductions, this one was presented immediately on the first occasion without gaps, making the later process of clarification and completion superfluous. I hold that this very circumstance is in favour of its pre-eminent significance in the patient's mental life. It happened as follows. His father was out, and he was playing one day in the kitchen, where his mother was. She was suckling his youngest brother, then about nine months old, and sat at the table on which crockery with relics of breakfast was still present. During play he noticed a fragment of bread left by his father. He stretched over for it holding tight to the edge of the table, and may so have disturbed his mother who was engrossed in thought. She shouted angrily at him, and probably because he would not desist from his intention, she seized a breadknife lying near by, and hurled it at him. She had aimed her unpremeditated throw well. The blade ran its point through the little brimless felt hat that he was wearing (the usual headgear of Hungarian peasant children), and pierced the skin of the

[1] Incidentally, the patient's memory reproduces all recollections remarkably vividly; probably the notable sense of reality associated with anal erotism is here a leading factor. I would venture to put forward a corresponding proposition, with due reserve, though founded on a very convincing case. Phantasies that have developed under patronage of an oral fixation of libido exhibit a curiously veiled character. This may be attributable to the yet limited field of action to which mental life is restricted at the corresponding stage of its development.

forehead on the right side. He cried out loudly, but the mother too was horrified by her unintended act, and hurried towards him. She snatched the knife out of the wound, which she quickly washed; she then carried the weeping child into the living room where, as he exactly remembers, she laid him right across the foot of the bed.[1] While he was gradually quieting down, she took the little hat which showed where the knife had cut it, and sewed up the damaged place with red twine, as he can recall to this day. At his mother's request, he kept the whole affair from his father, who never heard anything of it. He continued wearing the mended hat for a long time.

The effects of this episode could be traced in many directions, and as an outstanding childhood experience it often led to most important orientations during the course of the analysis. Thus in the first place, one could assume that it had set a term to the brief period of infantile masturbation,[2] and was later further involved in castration experiences. We found above, moreover, that the first castration threat hailed from the grandmother, to which he attributed the renunciation of his oral libido. Here the woman comes up a second time as disturber of sexual pleasure. Perhaps in another field the psychic effects of the episode were even deeper and more persistent. It is established without doubt that the patient's narcissistic masculinity was precociously stimulated by the injury to his head. We must not regard this as an innate disposition, such as the anal erotism which is to come up soon, but rather as an accidental *motif*, which however became responsible for the first fixation of libido in the patient's development.[3] Such a state of affairs could be inferred from a number of diverse erotic attributes and character traits in the present condition of the patient. For the sake of completeness I will insert these here. The patient, a vigorous man who knew his mind, and had advanced views and interests, opposed in the most emphatic way any effort towards emancipation on the part of women, whose activities he wanted to see limited strictly to domesticity. He

[1] The place for new-born babes in the village.

[2] Cf. Freud, Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 3. Folge, S. 164, footnote.

[3] The possibility of such fixation on account of 'purely chance happenings in childhood' has already been emphasised by Freud (Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse, 1917, S. 418).

warmly denied women any sense of justice (which as a child he had so venerated in his father and grandfather) or capacity for education. Incidentally, he was himself guilty of contributing evidence on the last point, for he had made ineffectual efforts to educate his wife's illegitimate daughter, as well as his youngest sister, whose birth coincided with his first neurotic illness (see above). He attributed the bad results of his efforts, not to his own impatience towards any female creature, but rather to her supposed inferiority. Preoccupation with an idea or illness was ever a welcome opportunity to keep his wife at a distance; nor did he ever let her into the knowledge of the plans and projects he was ceaselessly forging. It has already been stated that his wish for male offspring was determined by narcissism. Other relics of unduly potent infantile narcissism came forward as certain paranoid phantasies, which however only gave evanescent indications, and proved very variable. Of these, I have already mentioned jealousy. It had reference, however, not only to his wife's former love-affair, but developed into delusion-like phantasies of her possible infidelity, for which he wished to atone by murder of the late lover. Surely these phantasies are to be regarded as new editions of similar ones in childhood, in which it was a question of the father and mother. As link may serve his jealous attitude with respect to his eldest sister. In this connection, further, one must mention his aggressiveness, which repeatedly appeared in dreams as ability in debate. A curious episode may have reinforced it. When a conductor on a tram he thought he had once noticed that an old man of impressive appearance, who travelled with him daily and always dropped a small tip in his hand when he took his ticket, expected in consequence servile behaviour. Directly the idea had occurred to him, he unwillingly returned the superfluous money, and gave the traveller to understand he had nothing to expect from him. It is interesting that some days later there was a sort of conversation and reconciliation between them, which introduced them to a friendly relationship. He was partly responsible for this change, and afterwards he even enjoyed being pleasant to the old man. Thus a certain malleability of the patient's narcissism is evident, and leads to the provisional assumption that another prepotent impulse had necessitated its dissolution. Moreover there was a number of other means of expression or

rather regulation of the strengthened narcissism. Such was found in connection with an important dream, in which there were certain saving-phantasies which had to do with various respected individuals. The dream included a scene in which a town was on fire, and in the midst of tremendous upheaval he carried a town councillor from out of a burning house into the open, and as thanks for the rescue heard him utter resignation to an aimless life.[1] A man who had natural endowments similar to those of the patient, but a finer intellect and more influential rank, would probably have achieved very remarkable and profitable work in life. Such hero phantasies, which, dissociated from reality, nevertheless continued to exist in imagination, could always be traced back to the first love-object, the grandfather, who had once rescued the boy from a mad bull. In the reflector of narcissism, this adventure underwent transformation into its opposite. Another group of phantasies had to do with aversion from the woman's part in the process of reproduction, in which way he reacted analogously to the authors of the Old Testament story. He could never be reconciled to the idea that Nature had left the important operation of actual construction of the body, and carrying it, entirely to woman. Apparently he was running close therein to the chief complex of his neurosis. A further step in such phantasies is the belief in self-creation, which was demonstrably present in the patient.

It has not been possible to present this summary account of his narcissism in more coherent form, because analysis achieved in this respect isolated and disconnected suggestions, rather than definite and final conclusions; further because the psychical equilibrium of the patient himself did not allow him ultimately to penetrate beyond this stage of development. Particularly, as far as these saving and self-creation phantasies are concerned, they are as a rule not associated with the syndrome of hysteria, but belong to complexes of the psychoses. Though the case under treatment may seem strange in regard to the regions of feeling that have won recognition, further understanding can be approached by comparison with cases that belong to the realm of psychiatry.

[1] The dream reminds one of the poignant poetic scene in the Aeneid, which tells how the hero Aeneas carries his father Anchises out of burning Troy. Similarly in other dreams mythological traces could be demonstrated The patient described this dream as prophetic, and brought it into relation with political events. His tendency to prophesy will be discussed presently

Psycho-analytic literature in particular includes a description of a typical case which can be cited as an example for comparison. I refer to the case that has been so critical in determing the etiology of paranoia, namely that of the President of the Senate, Schreber.[1] Here we find told straight out, with little inhibition, and called by name, those repulsive phantasies, foreign to consciousness, which called forth the patient's neurosis, and could only be disinterred with so much labour. Such are the inversion into woman, and fertilisation by divine rays. I would emphasise with Freud that analysis contributed nothing to these phantasies, which must be considered a psychic constellation sui generis, and which are contained in Schreber's own account of his illness. The distinction is to be found in the mechanisms of the types of disease; whereas in hysteria symptoms are formed exclusive of consciousness, in paranoia the diseased processes invade consciousness in the form of delusions. In Schreber's case a firm adhesion of feeling to the father, and the childlessness of his marriage called to life the psychotic process of inversion of his own sex; in this case too, therefore, the most important section of unconscious content is concealed. Further I would just call attention to the far-reaching analogy which obtains between the infantile circumstances in either case (particularly anal erotism), but cannot develop this here. Anyhow the strangeness of the case in hand has thus been placed in its proper perspective, by which means it has surely become more readily credible.[2]

The patient's narcissism took a peculiar part in the structure of his dreams, and in this way was divulged a constant preoccupation with his own person and certain internal processes. Fundamentally his hypochondriac fears must be reckoned as belonging here. Nevertheless I would emphasise that none of the narcissistic traits brought forward formed very prominent features, although its strengthened basis could be established by observation. We shall yet discover why these hypothetical derivatives suffered later deviation.

[1] Freud, 'Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen über einen autobiographisch beschriebenen Fall von Paranoia (Dementia Paranoides)', Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 3. Folge, 1913.

[2] Such phantasies seem at times to be conscious also in obsessional neuroses. Cf. Ernest Jones: 'Einige Fälle von Zwangsneurose'. *Jahrbuch der Psa.*, Bd. IV, S. 574.

I turn now to the element of disposition in this many-sided neurosis, and this concealed its actual formation; it is the anal-erotic component instinct, the enormous development of which was disclosed step by step by the analysis. To this it was that the libido had reverted which had become dissociated from its object, and so formed the group of hysterical symptoms with which we are familiar. In very early days, perhaps directly after the abrupt curtailment of oral libido, which however, as we shall see, was yet to levy tribute, anal erotism set in, in the guise of a well-marked zest for excretion. Although memory stopped short of this point, it may be taken as established on many grounds that the impulse first sought satisfaction in the act of defaecation, more especially in view of the bowel disturbance seven years ago which underwent spontaneous resolution. Indirect evidence for this could be drawn from several of the character traits already brought forward. I shall here describe two, the presence of which I have been unable to discover in psycho-analytic literature, and beg that they should be interpolated at the appropriate point in Ernest Jones' excellent essay, 'The Anal-Erotic Character Traits'. The patient evinced a peculiar attitude towards time, far exceeding rational limits. He was not only precise and punctual, so that he made use of every available moment, but was inclined to do two things concurrently, such as reading at meals or in the lavatory, or concentrated thinking on a walk, etc. This typical character trait, which might be named after Caesar's historical peculiarity, can be directly traced to the pleasurable tendency of the child to perform the major and minor operations contemporaneously. And actually in this case, urethral erotism could be shown to exist in connection with anal erotism. Below, I shall again call attention to this characteristic in connection with the analysis of his death phantasies. He associated this characteristic —to do two things at the same time—with the urgent impulse to do anything he undertook 'completely', from which a thoroughly virile and effective behaviour in life ensued. This last trait also explains his strong inclination for 'complete', i. e. unused, things, such as clothes. People of such a kind are ashamed, for instance, to wear mended garments. The voluptuous interest in the act of defaecation was later more vigorously assimilated and worked up into peculiarities of character than that in the excreta themselves, which would rather indicate inertia of libido. Several

reminiscences were available in this connection. Primarily the stools became objects, exquisite to look at, to which the very value of a member of the body was attributed. It is the auto-erotic stage of development of this component instinct, in which but few associations have any influence. One gains the impression that the injury to the head alluded to was followed by a marked augmentation of anal erotism, determined partly by the turning away from the mother, and partly by the sexual enquiries that soon set in. All his childish fancies and experiences were grouped about this impulse, which like a magnet attracted all psychical activities within its sphere of influence. Sexual curiosity was directed in the first instance to the frequent pregnancies and parturitions of his mother; and, in consequence of his massive dispositional tendencies, he lighted on the infantile phantasy of identity of child with faeces. This phantasy is to this day closely bound up in the patient's memory with the conception of fertility of faeces, actually in a form that I would term a 'seed complex' (*Fruchtkern* complex).[1] A favourite occupation was to examine his own and adult's stools to see if any fruit-stones might be embedded in them. He made a note of situations in which he had left stools lying, and on one occasion discovered with intense wonder how a living shoot had sprouted from a cherry stone during the next spring. He was amazed that such a stone could still grow after the great heat to which he imagined it had been exposed in the bowel.[2] Furthermore, he now took to the habit of swallowing fruit complete with stone, until at sixteen, when a painful mishap occurred, a pointed plumstone hurting his rectum during defaecation. The case of the extruded cherry-stone was not an isolated one; in the yard of the family farm stood a tree which bloomed thanks to a similar chance, and was therefore called in joke by the father 'the filthy plum tree'. Only a few years ago, he heard in a letter from home that they had had to fell this particular tree. The significance of the seed-complex is evident moreover in other inclinations. Thus for example in the preparation of plum-fool he has the stones cooked up with the rest, and than revels in the sweetened product. Again, he collects apricot stones, dries and skins them after breaking them open in hot

[1] Just as in eastern poetry and thought the pomegranate counts as a symbol of fertility on account of its abundance of seed.

[2] These are obviously phantasies of puberty, referred to childhood.

water, so that he can relish them contemplatively during the course of the winter. Further he knows a number of cookery recipes, and enjoys playing at the art of cooking (anal erotism, and identification with the mother).[1] An extraordinary accident enabled me to discover how powerful an influence this complex was still exerting on his mental experience. He was accompanying me for a short way, the cherry season being in full swing, when I noticed that while speaking or listening—we were discussing a matter in which he was interested—he continually deviated to the right or left in order to step on cherry stones thrown away in the street. I called his attention to this symbolic action, whereupon he told me that this had been his habit for years, and boasted that it was not so easy for a stone to evade his keen eye. This activity did not disturb his being occupied in other ways at the same time (compare his so-called Caesarean capacity described above). He gave as a reason that he had once slipped on such a stone and wanted to avoid a similar mishap. Beneath this rationalization lay concealed those infantile death-wishes concerning his brothers and sisters, which the symbolic act disclosed; for the stones always represented small children in his unconscious thoughts. This hostility was quite openly experienced when he was six, when his eldest sister was born. The patient could remember vividly how they had looked forward to her arrival with immense expectations. Further the idea of dead children could be found counting as faecal symbols in his dreams.[2]

In this connection, I would mention the patient's flatus complex, which co-existed along with the coprophilic impulses. Though its influence was not as comprehensive as Ernest Jones has shown it to be in cases of obsessional neurosis,[3] nevertheless it was strikingly present. It could be traced back to the grandfather, who was without scruples in this respect, and aroused the respectful belief in the boy that such behaviour was a privilege of the head of the family. Whenever the grandfather broke wind he swore in

[1] Cf. Ernest Jones, 'Einige Fälle von Zwangsneurose'. *Jahrbuch der Psa.*, Bd. IV, S. 568.

[2] I shall give an example of this later.

[3] Ernest Jones: loc. cit. Ernest Jones has established the far-reaching character of this complex in his monograph 'Die Empfängnis der Jungfrau Maria durch das Ohr', *Jahrbuch der Psa.*, Bd. VI, 1914.

fun, saying 'now go to the devil'. When the small boy was a nuisance, he would address him very similarly, cursing him gently. The complex could be recognised in occasional instances in later life. When a school-boy, he eagerly collected money, in order to be able to buy a toy steam engine. The complex appears as reaction-formation as fear of thunder and lightning (Brontephobia). Later it was expressed as interest in weather and its changes. I remarked in connection with the saving-phantasies (the dream of the fire) that he was inclined to imagine he possessed a certain prophetic talent, and this can now be readily correlated with the flatus-complex. He always gave as surest evidence in favour of this that he always knew exactly when a guest was coming (guest = child = faeces = flatus).

An equally highly pleasurable sense of smell held sway along with anal erotism. No reaction in the form of hypersensitivity to scents has however yet appeared corresponding to its extensive infantile development. Excreta never disgusted him, but the smell of a carcase did so, and made him lose his appetite. How intimately the childish death-phantasies were related to this sense may be illustrated by two examples. He notices the smell of dead bodies even outside the house, should chance direct him to the proximity of such a place. He was once enabled, through the good offices of a friend, to visit an autopsy chamber, where he saw an incision which had been begun on the corpse of a woman. The fatty abdominal wall had already been divided in the mid-line. For two years after, he was unable to enjoy fat beef. He avoided mutton altogether, on account of its strong smell.

For the sake of completeness I shall now proceed with the analytic revelations with regard to his sadistic tendencies, supplementing the occasional examples already adduced. These were of so powerful development that two methods were employed in the process of their adaptation. A portion was transformed into masochism—the Ego serving as object of the sadistic impulse —and becoming bound up, as we have frequently noticed, with the tremendous anal-erotic complexes he thus became passive. A no less significant portion could however not avail itself of this outlet, and persisted actively as pity, a reaction-formation to the instinct.[1] This contributed as a factor in the first neurotic illness, seven years ago; he was then incapable of bearing the sight of

[1] Freud: 'Triebe und Triebschicksale', etc.

a person run over. Anyhow, he finds it intolerable to see animals die, and especially their failing glance, and people tortured by pain (the memory of childbirth observed as a child).

This does not quite conclude the account of the sphere of anal-erotic tendencies. They were able to make considerable contributions to an organ which is inherently responsive in this direction, namely the mouth. His phantasies indicating oral libido-fixation suggested not only a surprisingly extensive distribution, but were also capable of interpretations from several aspects; and their critical introduction into the general scheme of the neurosis caused no little trouble. The pregnancy phantasy served as a sign-post. When he was hardly more than five years old a curious selective inhibition of appetite appeared, having reference particularly to strong smelling dishes, and this reached a real idiosyncrasy persisting to this day in the case, for instance, of onions. He cannot stand them in any form, and if by chance a minute speck of onion comes into contact with his gums, he reacts with violent and repeated retching. I could only understand this irresistible distaste when I heard where the patient laid emphasis in describing it. The Hungarian for the plant is literally 'onion-germ' (*hagymacsir*). Evidently the notion of something alive included in this conception had a mighty effect in bringing about the formation of the idiosyncrasy. Its unconscious basis appeared to be an infantile phantasy of oral fertilisation, which is constantly to be found supplementing anal birth theories. In this connection, therefore, must be taken the patient's presuming the origin of his illness to be due to swallowing something unpalatable or harmful (a splinter of enamel from a saucepan). He is afraid moreover of being poisoned (a familiar dream symbol of pregnancy: in one of his dreams a fungus appeared as penis symbol). A year after the onset of the idiosyncrasy to onions, our patient discovered that he had a peculiar ability as a function of his stomach which may be described as chewing the cud. He could easily swallow buttons or small marbles, such as children use for toys, and then regurgitate them into his mouth. After a satisfying meal he could even bring up chunks of meat that he had gulped down whole, piece by piece, in order by degrees to give them a subsequent chewing. Water that he had drunk, could be spurted back in a stream. Such infantile inclinations concealed in part tendencies to coprophagia (buttons and marbles are exquisite faeces-

symbols), but in part too they show that an incredibly generalised anal erotism has transformed the oral zone to a secondary cloaca.[1] It was only after all these things had been made clear that I arrived at a final explanation of a communication made by the patient long before. He had told how in the early months of his recent illness he had decided, without much consideration, to have his upper incisors extracted one by one, because he could no longer tolerate their foul smell. But during the process he fainted with pain. I vaguely guessed that these faints were causally related to the repeated losses of consciousness following the pain in the loin, but I could at first not find my way about the muddle of complaints, memories, interpretations, and so on. Here again the dominant pregnancy phantasy was a decisive factor. Tooth-extraction, which counts as a well-known symbol of parturition in women's dreams, must have the same significance in this case; and the forceps delivery observed as a child contributed an intermediate idea.[2] At the beginning of his hysteria, therefore, the patient attempted to rid himself of his diseased fancies by a sacrifice in the oral direction. The tooth extraction moreover was to be a substitute for the operation unavailingly anticipated at the X-ray performance, and to effect an outlet for the concomitant damming back of libido. Nevertheless the neurosis was the stronger, and found here another motive for its establishment. It is of interest to note the direction it took in that it first achieved transient expression in primordial form. Thus the archaic conception of oral birth is most impressively represented in the biblical story of Jonah, where the hero is spat forth by a whale.

In describing the introductory phase of the treatment I called attention to one of the patient's character traits, which I could not then explain. I take this opportunity of interpolating the explanation at a point at which the trait became intelligible to me. The resistance which sooner or later appears in every analysis, as an inevitable consequence of treatment, is of course rooted in different sources from case to case, and must therefore be resolved independently each time. The factor of resistance that arises from the nature of the disease is often sufficiently equalised by the

[1] Cf. Ernest Jones, 'Einige Fälle von Zwangsneurose', *Jahrbuch der Psa.* Bd. IV, S. 596.

[2] To this may be added the grandmother's collection of her teeth, and the injury to the little girl with the catapult.

good-will of patients, who thoroughly grasp the seriousness and unbearable character of their illness; if actual provocation is present, it becomes important to recognise this as it arises, and to follow it with close attention. There is however a particular kind of resistance which must be regarded as constitutional, and despite intimate relation with the case of illness in hand it merits a certain independent interest. It appears at an earlier age than does the disease, and plays a prominent part in the life of every healthy individual. Our patient's behaviour was markedly reserved, and as it appeared in the foreground, this provided many a tough problem in the analysis. It always seemed likely to be related to anal-erotic tendencies, and ultimately this association proved to be very intimate. Consider how great an effort has to be devoted to the education particularly of the anal sphincter in the case of every child; one must admit then that a psychic constellation may well arise as a reaction to the pleasure-toned activity of this occlusive muscle in consequence of its decadence along with that of infantilism, and that its energy will depend on its exact source. In a very penetrating study Ernest Jones[1] has established the relation between the capacity to hate and the early and forced conquest of control over sphincters; without attempting to tackle the question of this significant relationship, which leads us into pathology, I would record my belief that in describing behaviour by the word 'reserved' (*Verschlossenheit*) we reveal just such a relationship. The example of the patient is particularly instructive in this respect in view of the way in which we found that just the mechanical process of defaecation had been vigorously transmuted into character traits. I do not intend to pursue the connection here, and will therefore not discuss the psychological problem of this reserved behaviour. Nevertheless I would mention that this characteristic ranks above many anal-erotic configurations as regards importance and extent; it appears more amenable to change, and admits of greater malleability in later life than do the others. It not only embraces its opposite together with the whole series of intermediate steps, but is also intimately related to important mental characters. Thus we recognise proud, modest, self-conscious, spiteful, etc., varieties of reserved behaviour in connection with each of which a corresponding

[1] 'Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neurosis', Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 1918, p. 540.

psychological type may be formulated.[1] The dissimulation of the paranoiac is probably a pathological derivative of reserved behaviour.

I return once more to the prominent part played by anal erotism in this case, since its relation to the other component instincts is noteworthy on account of a particular circumstance. It appeared that the former could draw to some extent on their co-operation, and direct the libidinous complement which they could contribute. I will summarise then in a few sentences what has previously been said. The oral instinct was traced down to a stage at which it became more comprehensible from a phylogenetic point of view. 'Observationism' was entirely attached to the anal-erotic object, similarly exhibitionism, the presence of which was demonstrated by a memory of puberty, shame at carrying out defaecation in the open. The olfactory component need hardly be mentioned, as its association in this connection is almost universal. Even urethral-erotism is closely related to its partner in excretory delights. Finally, we found that the expression of sadism was moulded on anal erotism, partly by inversion as masochism, partly by reaction-formation as pity. In consequence of its pre-eminence, the anal-erotic instinct irresistably permeated its fellows. The case is a model of penetration of individual instincts by a predominant component instinct, which is present in every neurosis, and determines the configuration of infantile character. This dynamic process is moreover of importance in another connection, namely in relation to the narcissistic phase of libido development. Freud holds that at this stage all component instincts have already achieved object-choice, but the object as yet coincides with the Ego.[2] If now, as in the case of our patient, the anal-erotic component retains throughout its undue prominence, it may, even with an appropriate disposition only, which was here however reinforced by the injury to the head, prevent the normal breaking through beyond narcissism. Such we have witnessed. It would seem that the whole process is not restricted in its application to this case, but is typical, since we interpolate a sadistic-

[1] A less definite variety belongs to urethral-erotism, and this is probably expressed in less material form, a characteristic common to everything psychical that is rooted in this component instinct.

[2] 'Die Disposition zur Zwangsneurose', Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 4. Folge, S. 118.

anal-erotic as penultimate stage of development, intermediate between narcissistic and genital stages.[1] It all tends to show how significant anal erotism is in the general development of the mind.

Every neurosis—or hysteria—may be regarded in a sense as an attempt to cope auto-erotically with ideas that have become inaccessible to consciousness because of their dissociation from reality;[2] in our patient they took the form of homosexual wish-phantasies, and we may infer therefore from their consequences, namely the group of symptoms of the disease, that the anal-erotic component too, which might have contributed to the assimilation of such wishes, remained under the sway of narcissism. The antagonism, which at bottom is the antagonism between libido and Ego, has achieved consequence in another direction, namely that of the castration-complex. It may be assumed, *a priori,* that a passive-homosexual wish in a neurosis only realises itself when the individual's narcissism is adapted to it. In what way then does renunciation of penis and masculinity come about? It has long been supposed to have to do with co-operation of constitutionally determined anal erotism. In a very important paper[3] Freud has indicated the fundamental features of the mechanism. It is primarily the interest in faeces (faeces = the first 'part of the body' which has to be renounced) which later becomes transferred to the penis. If the former was very potent, it is able by itself, by working up various impressions, including the castration-threat, to lead to the idea that the penis is similarly something detachable from the body. This idea approaches certainty directly the child's sexual investigations lead to the discovery that women lack a penis. Our patient could have discovered this when he was six years old, when his eldest sister was born. If we take into account his pre-occupation with anal-erotic phantasies current at that time, we may take it that the absolutely typical thoughts described above exercised his mind. I should like to call attention to two facts which I have noticed in the analytical treatment of this subject. It is surely not chance that most faeces-symbols are also castration-symbols—such as, nails, hair, teeth, etc.—and this

[1] Freud: loc. cit.

[2] Freud: Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse, 1917. S. 424.

[3] 'Über Triebumsetzungen, insbesondere der Analerotik', Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 4. Folge, 1918.

circumstance by itself indicates that there are powerful common influences at work. More important still do I find the second fact, which may, I suppose, be observed in every case of unconscious passive homosexuality. In such there are as a rule no indications of any psychical reaction against the threatened castration, and one gets the impression that they easily adapt themselves to the possibility of a loss of penis. This result is again to be ascribed to the undue power of the anal-erotic tendency, which seems to seize upon an experience with traumatic effect on the child's mind, and work it up in such a direction. It follows that in general the business of auto-erotism in childhood is not only preparatory, but constructive in its widest sense.

I would not conclude discussion of the anal-erotic symptom-complex without noting the patient's typical dreams, which provided sometimes difficult, but always valuable matter for analytic efforts. Like the other symptoms, they made their appearance as expressions of an almost inaccessible layer of the unconscious, and their interpretation, where indeed this was possible, was met with violent resistances and incredulity. Moreover they were extraordinarily polished and well proportioned, which I attributed to an innate ability in productions of phantasy. The patient's grandfather and father had been excellent *raconteurs* of fairy-tales, and they treasured and carried on to the next generation the fine Hungarian folk-lore. And this may explain why many a symbol played so active a part not only in dreams, but in other unconscious products of this neurosis (seed and tooth symbolism, etc.). It was just by means of these dreams that I was ultimately enabled to circumvent the resistances, and to penetrate to the actual pathological phantasies of the neurosis. Nevertheless, I am under the impression that it was more actual experiences linked together like a chain than the power of the dream symbolism that eventually forced the patient to insight, and to relinquishing his ineffective infantile libido-position. This is perhaps best illustrated by examples, the explanation of which is involved in the whole history of the case, but I will limit myself here to the reproduction of two very fine examples of his dreams.

Dream I. He was ascending a hill, on which stood a ruin. At the top he lay down in the shade and gazed far and wide over the country, till he fell asleep from weariness. Later, he was woken by a bald old man leaning on a stick, looking at him.

He felt as if he had woken him by touching him with the stick or his hand. The old man asked him then why he was frittering away his day, when he might have been doing something useful. As he actually had no plans, he asked the old fellow for advice. The latter pointed with his stick towards the ruin and said, therein was situated a well, down which he was just to climb and percuss its walls. If he found a hollow place, he was to open it, and he would get the reward for his labours. While he was considering the words of the old man, the latter disappeared. He followed the advice, stepped into the well, and discovered a secret chamber filled with jugs, old armour, and coins. All the objects were deeply smothered in mildew.

Dream II. An unknown friend invited him to come to his farm.[1] There he showed him first the stabling, where one could see animals for breeding arranged in splendid order, and labelled according to name and pedigree. In a small nitch, separated off, he saw a great number of hens' eggs covered with straw. He took up a strikingly large bean-shaped sample, and examined it with the greatest astonishment, since there were isolated letters on it, which were becoming clearer and clearer. On his friend's return, he hastily replaced the egg. They then went out into the yard, where animals reminiscent of rats were being reared in a pen-like enclosure. They gave out an intolerable odour. The whole farm was on a ridge; below lay a deserted churchyard with a meadow in its middle. Under a tree he saw a grave fallen in, and a chapel near it. He went in to this with his friend, and to the right and left of the gangway were placed children's coffins, and on their lids could be seen modelled and painted, figures representing the dead. He stepped through a glass door to the inner chamber, where stood the adult's coffins. As he turned round by chance, and looked back through the glass door, he saw that the dead children were dancing; directly they saw him however, they lay down again in their places. He was startled, and could not believe his eyes, and therefore tried again. Every time he found the children dancing and lying down again as soon as he looked at them. In the meantime the friend had disappeared, and he was seized with intense dread since he could only emerge in to the open through that gangway.

[1] The dream heralded the phase of his first understanding of his own disease. The unknown one is doubtless the doctor.

The analysis was rich in such dreams, in which I had to recognise very typical projections of his anal-erotic phantasies. These by themselves allowed a certain view to be taken of the diagnosis, and this was more and more confirmed, finding secure support from the actual memories.

I will now attempt a brief survey of the case. At the beginning of analytic treatment, the case appeared one of hysteria due to shock. Gradually it became evident that not the actual accident, but an unimportant experience in hospital treatment (X-ray episode), the significance of which had been reinforced by important experiences in childhood and puberty, undoubtedly counted as the immediate determining motive of the illness. It was the business of the symptom that arose from this to indulge a passive homosexual wish-phantasy, and at the same time the neurosis mobilised a multitude of anal-erotic memory-traces wich took the lead in giving shape to the symptom. A memory became operative in the attack, namely that of the childbirth observed in childhood, which, ranking as an outstanding experience, had already in its time led to powerful repression of allied memory-traces (his own mother's frequent childbirths) of even earlier years. These actual infantile experiences were closely bound up with the predominant activity of one of the component instincts. The immense contribution of anal erotism to the patient's sexual constitution was discovered, and by ascertaining piecemeal its former and current derivatives, the libidinous fixations and their transmutations into character traits, we eventually obtained access on the one hand to the elementary sources from which the neurosis derived its energy, and on the other achieved the gradual dissolution of the repressions that had been pathogenic. Although the dispositional factor of the libido had remained sufficiently prominent to contend against normal sexual development, the other symptoms of the disease had become so unbearable that they compelled him to show the necessary patience and endurance to put the analytic treatment through to its end, and this made a satisfactory result possible. The peculiar psychical material that came to light must stand as evidence of the degree of thoroughness with which I treated the case.

ON THE TECHNIQUE OF CHILD-ANALYSIS [1]

by

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'The answer to technical problems in psycho-analytic practice is never obvious.'

Freud: Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, IV. Folge.

The analysis both of the child and of the adult has the same end and object; namely, the restoration of the psyche to health and equilibrium which have been endangered through influences known and unknown.

The task of the physician is fulfilled when a cure has been effected, no matter what ethical and social standards the patient pursues; it suffices that the individual becomes once more adapted to life and his vocation, and that he is no longer liable to succumb to the demands and disappointments of life.

The *curative* and educative work of analysis does not consist only in freeing the young creature from his sufferings, it must also furnish him with moral and aesthetic values. The object of such curative and educative treatment is not the mature man who when freed is able to take responsibility for his own actions: but the child, the adolescent, that is human beings who are still in the developing stage, who have to be strengthened through the educative guidance of the analyst, in order to become human beings with strong wills and definite aims. He who is both analyst and educator must never forget that the aim of child-analysis is character-analysis—in other words, education.

The peculiarity of the child-psyche, its special relationship to the outside world, necessitates a special technique for its analysis.

There are three considerations of fundamental importance:

1. The child does not come of his own accord to the

[1] Read before the Sixth International Psycho-Analytical Congress at the Hague, September 1920. Translated by R. Gabler and Barbara Low.

analyst, as the grown-up does, but owing to the wish of his parents and only then (and herein he resembles the grown-up) when all other means have proved futile.

2. The child is in the midst of the very experiences which are causing his illness. The grown-up suffers from past experiences, the child from present ones; and his ever-changing experiences create a perpetually-changing relationship between himself and his surroundings.

3. The child, unlike the adult man (but very often in accordance with the attitude of women patients), has no desire at all to change himself or to give up his present attitude towards his external surroundings. His 'naughtiness' creates in him a sense of great self-importance, indeed a feeling of omnipotence, owing to which he tyrannizes over the people who surround him, and his narcissism which rejoices in the continual attention which he wins from his surroundings will not allow him to give up his wickedness. To the child with strong sadistic tendencies as well as to the child with pronounced masochism, constantly recurring outbursts of fury and punishments are essential to his neurotic personality. We must also include those fortunate natures who adapt themselves even as children to every different phase of life, who remember only the pleasure of 'making it up' in the continual quarrels of childhood, and who take a temporary exile in a boarding-school as a pleasant change—we mean, in short, those who can adapt themselves to every change in their environment.

For instance, a small boy, a habitual pilferer, whom I had for treatment, took all his experiences in school and at home just as 'a lark' and squared his conscience in regard to his complete failure at school with the reflection: 'My father did not like learning either, and yet we are doing so well.' Another twelve-year old boy, a little truant, whom I analysed in the Vienna children's clinic, enjoyed his stay there so much, on account of the nice food he got, that in spite of his often expressed longing for his parents, he had no desire whatever to depart.

Experience has taught me that girls at the age of puberty are more helpless when confronted by conflicts in the home life, and more sensitive to them, than are boys of the same age. The explanation of this lies partly in the fact that the girl has stronger links with her home life on account of her education aiming more

at repression, partly in the fact that she has less power to overcome, by way of sublimation, the incestuous impulses which are ready to burst out at this critical period.

In the case of phobia in a five year old boy, Freud has shown us the method (and this has become the basis of psycho-analytic child-therapy) by which we can throw light on these psychic depths in a small child where the libidinous stirrings change into childish anxiety. At this stage of life an analysis similar to the analytic treatment of the adult is not possible. One can only apply educational methods founded on psycho-analytical knowledge. A full understanding of the child's world of thoughts and feelings will call out its unlimited confidence, and thus a way is discovered to safeguard the child from various errors and injuries. As the training of the young child, both physical and mental, rests especially with women, it becomes essential that we should train understanding and kind-hearted women for educational psycho-analytic work.

A proper analysis according to psycho-analytical principles can only be carried out after the seventh or eighth year. But even with children at this early age the analyst must, as I will show later, turn aside from the usual routine, and satisfy himself with partial results, where he thinks that the child might be intimidated by too powerful a stirring-up of his feelings and ideas, or that too high demands upon his powers of assimilation are being made, or that his soul is disturbed instead of freed.

Generally speaking, there are two groups of these child-patients; namely, those who know from the beginning, or soon learn, in what the treatment consists, its aim and object, and those others who owing to their tender age, or to the fact that they do not suffer personally from their symptoms (for example, in the case of marked homosexual tendencies) or owing to individual factors (such as a feeble constitution) cannot be enlightened as to the object of the analytic treatment. Such children can be safely left to the idea that the analyst spends these hours with them in order to communicate some knowledge to them or to wean them from some misbehaviour, or to play with them, or from a special interest in them.

For instance a delicate thirteen year old boy did not doubt for a moment that I was, as his mother said, a friend of his father who was in the war, and that I came to wish the youngster Many

Happy Returns of the Day. As he had an impediment in his speech he also accepted quite trustingly the further explanation that I would teach him to speak distinctly, and he actually tried himself to speak more clearly.

The mother of an eleven year old boy, who lived completely in his phantasies and dreams, chose, without my sanction, a form of introduction which I thought might have proved harmful. She said that a friend of hers was very much interested in children's dreams and would like him to talk to her about his own. However the course of the analysis convinced me that no harm had been done, for the somewhat artificial accounts of dreams given in the beginning were after all only reflections of his conscious and unconscious day-dreams.

No rule can be laid down for the appropriate moment to tell the patient the aim of these talks; experience and personal tact are the only reliable guides.

In close connection with the above matter is the formulating of the obligations which must be carried out by the adult patient at the beginning as a *sine qua non* if a cure is to be effected. Right from the beginning one understands that in the case of the second type of psycho-analytic patients one must abandon the demand for absolute openness, and uncensored expression of everything which comes into the mind, and instead put forward this obligation only at some favourable opportunity. In the case of the first-mentioned group, however, those more mature young people who often have already had instruction concerning psycho-analysis from some other member of the family who has already undergone treatment, it is often suitable in the very first hour to demand that they shall be completely frank and shall not talk over the treatment with their comrades, their brothers and sisters, or other members of the family. Of course, in connection with this enjoining of secrecy, we must not overlook that commands and prohibitions are the very means of tempting the young to transgress.

The period of time devoted to the child's analysis is generally conditioned by the attendance at school, which the parents do not want on any account to be shortened. Apart from the few cases where the young patient has special difficulties in preserving the continuity, I have always found that three or four hours a week, if the analysis is carried on long enough, leads to

successful results. An exact keeping to time appears to me of the greatest importance. It involves a self-education which the young person must undergo. Sometimes it needs strong self-control to reject some important communication which the child has kept back till the end of the hour, but to concede to such demands would mean that the patient was allowed to get the upper hand.

While the educative analysis of children of more mature age (say from fourteen to eighteen) resembles more that of the grown-up—for in the very first hours, we can speak of the factors in the treatment, of positive and negative transference, of resistance, and of the significance of the unconscious psychic tendencies in the whole of our experience—the analysis of the younger or backward child proceeds on different lines from the beginning.

I consider it inadvisable to take the young patient to the consultation with the analyst. The child feels himself exposed and humiliated while he waits in another room during the consultation, and often this creates in him excitement, may be anxiety, resentment, defiance, shame, all of which endangers the subsequent treatment, or at least makes the beginning much more difficult. If one has to break down a resistance before getting an opportunity to build a bridge of mutual understanding, one is, so to speak, confronted with a task similar to that of clearing away a heap of débris which lies at the other side of a yawning chasm.

Just as the first meeting between the analyst and the young patient should take place in the latter's home, so should it be with the treatment itself. The analysis must go on independently of the whims of the patient, who can very cleverly contrive to have a slight indisposition which prevents him coming, or arriving in time, or he may play truant in the analysis hour. The child not only lacks interest in the money problem (which for the grown-up is a continual stimulus to make him continue the treatment uninterruptedly), but in addition he knows that he has an opportunity of causing his parents expense and of satisfying his own defiance and desires for revenge. Of course, every child when at the height of a positive transference tries to transfer the analysis to the home of the analyst; but I have always gained the conviction that even when external circumstances demanded this change of place, such a change proved not to be lasting. However much the time and energy of the analyst is burdened by

this demand, since he can only see daily half the number of patients as compared with those treated by his medical colleagues, and although an absolutely undisturbed and private talk in the patient's own house is difficult to obtain, nevertheless these evils seem to me trifling compared with the greater one of letting the child decide the external conditions of the analysis. Another consideration is that the parents, in spite of all their devotion, very soon feel that chaperoning of the child to and from the analyst's house becomes impossible and this difficulty is used as a reason for terminating the treatment—a situation well-known to every child-analyst.

However favourable may be a temporary absence from home for difficult children, nevertheless I have my doubts as to the value of psycho-analytic treatment for them in any kind of institution, whether they are boarders or day-pupils, for one reason because the child finds the necessity for secrecy in a situation where he feels himself more important than his comrades very difficult to endure, and for another, because he easily becomes a target for their ridicule when he has to have a special 'treatment hour', about the aim and object of which the other children cannot obtain information. What the treatment will be like in future happier times when perhaps some of my ideas for the founding of psycho-analytic homes for young children have been realized I cannot foretell, but I believe that it will need quite special tact, great educational skill and experience, to meet successfully the great difficulties which will arise in psycho-analytic treatment owing to collective life. The jealousy among the patients themselves, the making of comparisons not always favourable to one's own analyst, the exchange of confidences between the children about their analysis which cannot be prevented—all these things are difficulties which must not be underrated. Nevertheless, I believe that the creation of psycho-analytic 'homes' will either solve the problem of the guidance of the 'difficult' child which so many parents and schools fail in, or at least make the problem easier.

An important difference between the analysis of the child and of the grown-up results from what seems a merely external circumstance; namely, whether the patient should lie down or sit up during treatment. For the very juvenile patient, this question is already answered by the limitations which his age imposes. But also in the case of the older child the notion of 'lying down'

produces in the child an anxiety-situation. To lie down awakens in the child the memory of some real or imagined scene of being overpowered: one will be afraid of a beating, another of an operation, and both are overcome by their secret feeling of guilt, a fear of castration. Adolescent patients imagine themselves while lying down to be under hypnosis and exposed to rape. Seduction phantasies of both homosexual and heterosexual nature which are projected on to the analyst play a great part with so-called 'nervous' boys and girls when they have to lie down.

A fifteen-year old boy who came for my educative treatment on account of a serious phobia of thunderstorms and earthquakes, confessed to me in the course of analysis that he would certainly have resisted the treatment if he had been obliged to lie down on the sofa which, he had heard, a family acquaintance had had to do in his analysis, for he was in continual dread of being hypnotized. As a matter of fact this boy had worked himself into such a serious condition of excitement during a consultation with a nerve specialist at home, who tried to hypnotize him, that he cried out 'Police' and finally dashed out of the house in a panic into the street.

I have never noticed that the success of the analysis is in any way imperilled by the fact that the analyst faces the patient.

The first hour in treatment is of the utmost importance; it is the opportunity for establishing a *rapport* with the young creature, and for 'breaking the ice'. It causes much strain and stress to the beginner and opens up even to the experienced analyst nearly always new methods of approach and new guiding lines. But no rules and no programme can be laid down; the intellectual development, the age, and the temperament of the patient must decide which course to pursue.

In the case of more mature patients, often the right course is for the analyst to confess himself as such openly, in order to gain their confidence whole heartedly.

The mother of a nervous girl of fourteen introduced me to her daughter as a friend whom she had not seen for many years, but the girl was not to be deceived by this; after a little while she enquired: 'But who are you really?' My honest explanation, namely, that I was interested in young people who find life very difficult and are unable to grapple with it, and that I should like to help her, too, to get on better with her mother, had the de-

sired effect. The girl became strongly attached to me and came to me for advice about all matters which disturbed her, as to her 'second and real mother'.

Sometimes, in the case of those patients who obstinately shut themselves up, a ruse is helpful. For example, a nine year old boy with suicidal impulses, during the first hour took not the slightest notice of me, but simply laid his head on the table and made no response to any remark. A fly passing close to my face suggested to me the idea of pretending that I had got something in my eye. At once the boy, who always wished to be in the limelight, jumped up, saying: 'Please let me see, I will get it out; but you must not rub your eye.' Thus, with his proffered help the ice was broken, because he felt himself of use to me. Every time, after this, when a strong resistance made him retire into silence, I had only to ask for his advice or his help, and the analysis once more progressed favourably.

A ruse, which, in my opinion, never fails, is to tell the young patient about the misdeeds of other children. As one has already been sufficiently informed by the parents about the misdemeanours and peculiarities of one's little patient, one need not be afraid of inciting the child, by such accounts of others, to similar naughtiness which he has not indulged in up to the present. No child has so far been harmed either in a sexual, or any other way, by a properly-conducted analysis. Though a temporary increase in bad behaviour may lead the layman to such an idea, the analyst is able to appreciate it as a sign of progress.

The reaction of the child to this kind of beginning may be of three types. Often the patient reacts with a story of similar misdeeds, which at first are described as having been done by another child, and only later on admitted as his own. Or secondly he may reply with a fierce denial: 'I have never done such things!' From the analysis of the grown-up, we are aware that such emphatic denials are tantamount to admissions. Thirdly, the child may accept the information with absolute indifference. Then we can scarcely be wrong in assuming that the parents have misunderstood something in the behaviour of the child, or that behind the known facts something more is hidden.

When dealing with children of seven or eight years of age, the analyst can often pave the way by sharing in the play activities, and thus he can recognise several symptoms, peculiar habits,

and character traits; and in the case of these very young patients, very often play will enact an important part throughout the whole treatment.

A seven year old boy, who suffered from severe insomnia accompanied with compulsive laughter and tic, which made me suspect he had watched the parental sex-life, manifested during daytime complete apathy: he lay on the carpet for hours without speaking or playing; he ate a great deal but without enjoyment or selection, and apparently had lost quite suddenly his former strongly-marked desire for caresses. In the analysis he would allow me to play with his toys for the whole hour, with scarcely any reaction on his part, and seldom gave me answer, so that it was difficult to decide whether he had taken in at all that I said. In one of the first treatment hours I told him about a little boy who would not go to sleep at night, and made such a noise that his parents could not sleep either. I told also how little Rudi made a noise too in the afternoons when his father wanted to rest; so his father became angry and Rudi was whipped (Little Hans's reaction to this was to run to the sideboard and take down a 'Krampus'[1] and to beat me on the arm, saying: 'You are naughty!'). I went on to tell how Rudi was then cross with his father, and wished his father were somewhere else (To this the reaction was: 'My father is at the war'. Actually his father, an officer of high rank, was on active service throughout the war, and had only returned to his family in Vienna on short leave). Suddenly Hans took his little gun and said: 'Puff, puff.'

The next day his death-wishes towards his father showed themselves more clearly. He was playing with his toy motor-car and several times ran over the chauffeur, whom I had made out to be little Rudi's father. I pretended to telephone the news of his father's accident to the little boy. Rudi was supposed to weep bitterly at the news, and then I said that although Rudi had formerly wished his strict father away, now he felt very sad, because in spite of this wish, he really loved his father very much. The reaction of little Hans was very characteristic; he listened to me, lying on the floor, asking me eagerly now and then, 'What does little Rudi do next?' Suddenly he jumped up and ran out of the room. On the following day he reacted in the same way when our game was repeated, at his request. In his sudden going out

[1] The dressed-up figure of a little man, holding a birch-rod.

of the room, we can see clearly the working of the unconscious. It also shows us an important difference in the course of psychic functionings in the grown-up and in the child. Whereas in the analysis of the adult, we aim at bringing about full insight into unconscious impulses and feelings, in the case of a child, this kind of avowal expressed, without words, in a symbolic act, is quite sufficient. We learn, indeed, from the analysis of the child that in him the psychic events take place in quite different layers from those of the grown-up, that they may be more closely or more remotely connected with each other and that in the child many impressions leave clearly-marked traces in spite of never having reached the threshold of consciousness. Even analysis does not make conscious these fragmentary memories of 'primordial scenes'[1] the blending of new impressions with these former takes place, perhaps, in the preconscious, and it is left to later experiences at a higher stage of development to bring them into consciousness. This would supply a further explanation of the fact that the very earliest impressions which are very much alike for all human beings (such for example, as the methods of upbringing) lay the foundation for neurosis in some whilst others pass through them unharmed.

It is most rare for the young patient to put out his psychic feelers, or to talk freely during the first treatment hour, since he is full of mistrust towards his analyst, who is the father- or mother-*imago,* unless it so happens that an extreme bitterness against his parents or brothers and sisters compels the child to break out into complaints and abuse. In such case, it is necessary to manifest to the young patient the greatest forbearance and a full consideration of his troubles.

The communications or symptomatic actions in the first treatment hour are of the greatest importance, for they demonstrate the nuclear-complex of the infantile neurosis.

A fifteen year old boy came to me for analytic treatment on account of severe anxiety conditions, which he himself speedily declared to be 'anxiety of anxiety'. The first thing he said was: 'In our form at school, the two best pupils are Jews, I come next, and again after that, the next best are Jews, and the rest are Gentiles.' By this formulation the boy betrayed his ever-gnawing feeling of reproach against the father, who owing to marriage with a Gentile, had become a convert from Judaism to Protestantism.

[1] Cf. Freud: 'A Child is being Beaten', This *Journal,* Vol. I, p. 380.

Little Hans, to whom we are indebted for valuable insight into the mechanism of the child's psychic functioning, was aroused from his complete apathy by the following game: I saw in the looking-glass that he poked his finger into his nose, and I said: 'Oh dear, whatever is Hans doing? I don't want to see such a sight!' Whereupon he stood in front of the mirror, smiling roguishly, and said. 'Don't look!' poking his finger again into his nose. Of course he expects me to forbid him and untiringly repeats this game, only exchanging his nose-poking for putting out his tongue. This game symbolizes to him the oft-experienced strictness of his father which he tries to evade by keeping secret his little misdeed.

A sixteen-year old girl suffered in a marked degree from inferiority feelings, owing to squinting. She covered up spontaneously my spectacles which lay on the table—a symptomatic action which revealed that she was unwilling to be reminded of eyes or their abnormalities. She admitted to me later on that this defect of mine had for a long time disturbed her affectionate relations towards me.

A ten year old boy, who was rather a failure at his work owing to his very extreme habit of phantasying, in the first treatment hour informed me how greatly he disliked the pose of the hero in a performance of 'Lohengrin' which he had witnessed. He ostentatiously turned his back towards me, imitating the singer's position, declaring it unsuitable for a performer on the stage, asking me: 'Surely, Doctor, an actor should not stand in such a position in front of the public?' After a short course of analysis, my original suspicion was confirmed, namely, that the boy was suffering from a strongly repressed exhibitionism.

The first communication of a fourteen year old girl, who was harrassed by painful broodings, was a very contemptuous criticism of the geographical teaching which she received at the age of ten or eleven, which consisted of continual repetition about 'climate' and even now in the high school it was the same subject all over again: climate, the position of the sun and its shadow—these were pursued with the same persistency. 'Whatever is the object of teaching the movements of the sun to an eleven year old child who cares nothing about the subject,' and so forth—this complaint filled up the whole hour of treatment with the

greatest monotony, and in the subsequent hours she continually returned to this subject, until at last was revealed the connection between this question and what was really the girl's main interest—sexual intercourse between human beings. In a roundabout way (first under the guise of her great liking for horses—she was greatly interested in books on horse-breeding—then of her interest in descriptions of travels and the love relations of foreign peoples) the main preoccupation finally emerged: 'For how long a period do the men and women of foreign races have intimate relations with one another' (having in mind her own father and mother).

The demand for 'active therapy' which is made for the analysis of the adult is also of importance in child-analysis. It is certainly advisable for quite a number of patients that during the course of analysis they should be given small tasks to perform. Especially in the case of the patient who suffers from strong inferiority feelings, if a due measure of work be demanded of him, his self-confidence will be strengthened.

The shy, dependent weak boy (of whom I spoke above) who had difficulty with his speech and suffered a great deal from the ridicule of street-boys, surprised his grandfather after a six months treatment by his manly self-reliant behaviour with his seniors. The boy, who formerly would scarcely go outside the house, improved so much by analysis that he joined in walks, and went along, first for me, then for his mother, to execute little commissions for us—which he carried out very successfully.

More important than making positive requests is the avoidance, as far as possible, of any direct prohibitions, and, again, more valuable than both prohibitions and commissions, is talking over things together. This mutual weighing up of the pros and cons of a given situation will influence the self-confidence of the patient repressed by his inferiority feelings.

No more for the child than for the adult can a programme for the course of analysis be laid down. Kind and sympathetic attention, encouraging occasionally, joking words at the right moment, a loving interest in all the trifles which are by no means trifles to the child, indicate the way to gain the full confidence of the young creature. In addition, to forget nothing and to confuse nothing said in previous sittings—this completes the demands made by the child upon the analyst. How far, and when,

free association should be made use of, can only be decided as the circumstances arise. So far as my own experience goes, Abraham's remark that older people need more guidance in analysis than the younger ones holds good for both the young child and the adolescent. Perhaps we would add that in the case of these latter, greater care has to be used than with the grown-up. True, it is difficult to disentangle deep-rooted and rigid ideas and feelings, but the greater plasticity of the youthful mind lends itself easily to the danger of unintended suggestion instead of yielding to the patient the clearest possible insight. Over and over again I have been able to prove to myself that children know far more about the things that go on in their surroundings than we grown-ups, owing to our anxious solicitude, wish to admit. Does it not sound almost tragi-comic to receive unexpectedly the confession of an eleven-year old girl (whose repeated questions about the sexual act I have carefully tried to answer step by step) that when she was five her mother enticed her to look through the keyhole and thus spy on her father when having intercourse with a prostitute!

Of course, dreams play their part in child-analysis also, but we need not fear, any more than in the case of adults, that resistance will produce a more intense or imaginary dream-experience. The so-called night-dream signifies only a day-dream to which perhaps the child would never otherwise give expression. And here I wish to emphasize the difficulty there is in getting some children to speak out freely all their ideas because they cannot free themselves from the habit fixed by the daily teaching, namely: 'not to talk nonsense' and so forth.

Although naturally in child-analysis technical expressions, such as the Œdipus and castration-complex, exhibitionism, etc. cannot be made use of, nevertheless the real facts must be made clear. Even in the case of a very young patient it is necessary to explain certain phenomena in the course of treatment. He will quite easily understand the meaning of 'resistance' if first it is explained to him in connection with 'the negative transference', that is, his refusal to speak out of a spirit of defiance; and later in connection with the 'positive transference', that is, his feeling of shame at making a confession to the analyst which is humiliating to himself or his family; and in the end he will understand the readily acquired phrase: 'Now I have no more to say.'

Out of the resistance which expresses itself in the form of unwillingness to humiliate his family we can find a way of explanation concerning the negative transference, which is generally much more readily accepted than the idea of the positive transference. Discussion about this latter, even when it is quite clearly recognised, demands special caution in formulating it, because at bottom the child is unwilling to exchange his own parents for any stranger, even when there is every good reason for so doing. In spite of this, however, the child's first attitude at the beginning of the treatment is generally a strong positive transference, owing to the fact that the analyst, by sympathetic and dispassionate listening, realizes the child's secret father—or mother—ideal. Of course he makes use of this attitude at once against his own family. This results in those intensely irritating remarks made by the child to his people, such as: 'Doctor said I need not do this or that', or, 'I must ask Doctor first about this'. The child takes for granted that the analyst by listening to his complaints in the treatment hour, is in agreement with him, and from this he builds up his phantasies and attributes to them the value of reality. Also the juvenile patient is continually ready to plot against his parents, and in this he relies upon the support of his analyst. The child, just like the grown-up, when at the height of his positive transference, is unwilling to end the treatment.

The negative transference usually appears first in the form of a fear of being deceived. For everything they say, they demand oaths of secrecy, for their mistrust towards the analyst is the product both of unwillingness to lay themselves bare, and of the countless disappointments which even the most favourable home conditions provide for the child from his earliest years. This is also the reason why he anxiously and jealously watches the interviews between the analyst and his parents and tries to overhear them and shorten them.

We know what an important part is played in the child's psychic life by sexuality, and its observation, and by the diverting of this childish interest by the family circle. The child is accustomed to get very unsatisfactory answers from his parents and other grown-up members of the family to the riddle of sex, and therefore he reacts in two ways to the straight-forward talk in the analysis about sexual matters. He feels more important, like a grown-up man, and tries hard to reward the analyst's frankness by greater friend-

ship: on the other hand, as soon as stronger resistance sets in, he is at once ready (owing to his earlier repressions) to belittle the analyst because he has talked on tabooed matters. So strong with the child is the parental authority and the first educational influence, that he expects the same claims to be made upon himself, and the same outlook in life, from every grown-up who is interested in him. To him the analyst embodies, but in much stronger form than to the adult, the father- or mother-*imago*. On that account it takes a long time before he can feel convinced that the analyst does not take the parent's part, and that he can expect from the analyst full freedom and complete understanding for all his utterances. The child's over-estimation of authority, in both positive and negative sense, makes the analysis difficult, for the patient watches with a keen eye for any defect in the analyst which will give him an excuse for gainsaying his belief in authority. And the young person, especially the child, thinks he finds this wished-for defect in the analyst's frank talk about sexual problems, and therefore in this phase of the treatment the ambivalency of the patient towards his guide and adviser is most apparent. The notable difference between his parents as they are in reality and their image in his phantasy re-awakens once more in its original intensity the very earliest child-wish, namely, that his little heart should once more be able to confide in his father and mother and with this all the old feelings of early disappointment are revived. Owing to this unavoidable conflict which has its foundation in the childish memories of the young soul, and in its attitude to the analyst, arise the fundamental demands made upon the latter by the patient. The chief thing in the analysis of children and young people is the analyst's power of intuition in regard to the sufferer. It does not matter so much whether many complexes are made conscious to the young patient, or how much 'insight' he gains, the reaction is sufficient at the beginning. Often, much later, some chance word from the child shows that he has preserved and appreciated at its true value the explanation which he had at an earlier stage. But this acceptance does not take place by means of conscious work: a great part of the psycho-analytic process in the child takes place in his unconscious, and contrary to the case of the grown-up, it remains permanently there, and only a change in his behaviour proves to the analyst that his trouble has not been in vain. In my experience, it is those children

whose seeming compliance might tempt one to satisfaction, who are the most difficult type for treatment: they are the well-drilled kind, who say 'yes' to everything, but in their hearts say 'no' and act accordingly.

Intuition and patience, these are the foundations which must be laid from the first meeting with the young patient, in order that confidence may rest on solid ground.

An important factor in child-analysis is the relationship between the analyst and the young patient's family. One might think that in this respect the analyst-educator would have an advantage over his medical colleagues, since the child comes for treatment owing to the parents' wish, whereas the adult comes of his own accord, very often quite against the wish of his family. Unfortunately this idea is quite incorrect. In the case of the child as well, psycho-analysis is looked upon as the last resource, and the parents, who have found all other educational measures fail, have a good deal of mistrust even of psycho-analysis. In spite of this, they expect a 'miraculous cure' which shall remedy in the course of days the mistakes of years. And the relatives cling to this expectation, in spite of the analyst's quite explicit information that the duration of the treatment cannot be fixed in advance because it is dependent upon the individual character of the child, but that it will certainly stretch over several months. I have proved over and over again that the relatives from the very beginning of the treatment have privately settled in their own minds a time-limit, and this they maintain, incapable of sufficient insight to understand that to break off treatment half-way through means waste of time, trouble, and money. Of course, the psycho-analytic treatment itself is held responsible for the consequence of the premature breaking-off, namely, that there is a considerable intensification of the original trouble—and this is produced by the child (in part consciously, in part unconsciously) owing to his revolt against the loss of treatment which though at first compulsory has become indispensable to him. The parents' criticism of the treatment is made more poignant owing to their painful consciousness, mingled with shame, anxiety and bitterness, of having failed in regard to their children's successful training. In addition the knowledge that the analysis reveals all the mistakes made in the upbringing of the child in spite of the best intentions, and that the analyst obtains an insight (very undesirable from the parent's point of view, into intimate family affairs

creates in most parents distrustful and anxious feelings. This reluctance to lay bare family affairs proves a greater hindrance in the case of child-analysis than in the case of the adult, for the latter is willing to sacrifice, for the sake of his own recovery, the consideration he holds for his family. Another difficulty arises from the over-anxiety of the parents to further and hasten the analysis by their co-operation. The mothers, at all events, nearly always show a desire to make use of 'active therapy'. It is terribly difficult to convince them that their work lies in quite another direction and that they are really acting as helpers if they show the child during the treatment the greatest possible measure of patience and forbearance. They must develop the understanding that the young mind during the analysis has to go through a process of re-crystallization, during which first the old values are destroyed; and this destructive process cannot take place without disturbances, and these shocks have an outlet in an increase of the very difficulties and peculiarities which have to be eliminated. Quite usually after a striking temporary improvement in the symptoms (arousing in the parents premature expectation of cure in a few weeks or even hours in spite of the analyst's emphatic warning as to the duration of the analysis) a marked change for the worse takes place. Some children rebel more violently than ever against the parents' rules and regulations: others who have failed in their work owing to their extreme phantasy-life, will take advantage of the unwonted freedom to express now without check their secret thoughts and feelings. They lose themselves in their day-dreams, and for the time being, they turn away from their work more completely than before. This apparent deterioration in the outward behaviour of the child, which reveals his psychic condition, is regarded quite differently by the parents and by the analyst: the latter sees in it a good sign for the further progress of the analysis.

It is not easy to convince the parents that the renunciation of the desire for the children's success in work during the process of analysis holds out the promise of that very success when the treatment is over. They are very unwilling to allow as much importance to a psychic trouble as to a physical one. Just as no father would think of sending his child to school when suffering from pneumonia, so no demands must be made for study from the child suffering psychically.

The narcissism of the parents explains their extreme jealousy,

experienced especially by the mother, when they see their child so ardently attaching himself to the analyst. In this connection an important task devolves upon the analyst who has to explain to the mother that the positive transference is a passing phenomen but one necessary to the success of the analysis, and in no way deprives her permanently of her child's love.

In spite of the difficulties which prevent the relations between the parents and analyst being so friendly as might be desirable in the interests of the child, this relationship is inevitable. It is a legitimate demand on the part of the parents and furthers the treatment. For the child passes over, instinctively and, unlike the adult, without conscious criticism, everything which has no 'feeling-tone' for him and which is settled and done with. Consequently, very often we learn nothing in the analysis of difficulties at home or at school, because the child does not feel the need to revise these scenes, and his interest in them disappears as soon as they have played their part according to his expectations. In addition we must not forget that the child consciously also keeps secrets. In order to ascertain some special date, or the accuracy of some memory, it is sometimes useful to question the parents; and further it is valuable for obtaining an insight into the earliest stage of the patient's life. It is here that the parents can satisfy their desire for active co-operation in the analysis, by means of written replies to the analyst's series of questions, concerning the physical and psychic development of the child in early infancy, and these communications throw a valuable light upon the surroundings, the outlook on life and the educational system in which the child has grown up. It is of special importance in the process of analysis to refrain from touching on certain matters, such as infantile masturbation and how it ceased, and to overlook a decided denial in respect to certain matters which we all know (just like the interest in the digestive process, etc.) must be answered in the affirmative by every child. This emphatic denial of all kinds of 'nastiness' affords the analyst guiding-lines for the treatment of the sexual problem.

I consider it impossible for anyone to analyse properly his own child. This is so not only because the child hardly ever reveals its deepest desires and thoughts, conscious or unconscious, to father and mother, but because in this case the analyst is often driven to re-construct too freely, and also because the narcissism

of the parents would make it almost unbearable to hear from their own child the psycho-analytic revelations.

The relations between the analyst and the patient's brothers and sisters has also a bearing on the course of the treatment. Usually the younger ones are eager to share the patient's confidence, whereas the elder ones, owing to a secret feeling of envy and animosity, and a half-expectation of betrayal of themselves, keep aloof. Both of these attitudes are judged with equal hostility by the patient, who watches with jealous mistrust the relations of his special confidant with his brothers and sisters and is unwilling to give up his phantasy of the analyst's hostile attitude towards the latter.

We may sum up our knowledge obtained from child-analysis in a few sentences. Almost always we find mistakes in education, through which a bad disposition or a harmful experience, instead of decreasing in destructive effects, is fostered. Too much strictness on the one hand, and too much leniency on the other, with nearly always a lack of consistency in the upbringing, bring about these evils, from which both parents and children alike suffer. If the parents themselves were analysed, in all probability fewer children would be in need of analysis.

THE ANAL-EROTIC FACTOR IN THE RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND CHARACTER OF THE HINDUS

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The Abbé Dubois[1] makes the following very interesting and significant observation: 'The conduct and the manner of thinking of the Hindus respecting uncleanness and the means of purification, are so different from anything to be seen in other nations, that it would be very desirable if we could discover some evidence to enable us to discern with certainty what has given rise to those rules of conduct which they so invariably pursue'.

No one who has made even a superficial study of the customs of the Hindus, still less any one who has come into actual contact with them in India, can fail to be impressed with the length and depth to which ideas pertaining to 'defilement' have come to permeate their existence. Ceremonial 'purifications' of all descriptions have played, and continue to play, important parts in the daily routine of mankind throughout the world, but it is unlikely that among any people at any time in the history of the human race has either the desire for the avoidance of contact with 'impurity' as well as the desire to remove the minutest trace of any such impure contact risen to be such an overwhelming obsession as it has done among the Hindus. Although with all races and religious systems, the conception of moral guilt probably takes its origin in ideas which are fundamentally concerned with bodily uncleanness, especially with the uncleanness of those parts of the body which are concerned with the excrementitious functions, it is among the Hindus that this association of ideas can be studied to the greatest advantage. Furthermore, although there are in India many races, ethnologically distinct, which profess Hinduism, yet in all of them we may find certain traits of character which could only exist in persons whose traditional beliefs and practices are largely the outcome

[1] Dubois: The People of India, p. 122.

of sublimations of, or reaction-formations against, anal-erotic impulses.

The facts on which the theory of anal erotism is based are now so widely known as to make it superfluous for me to do more than recapitulate some of their salient features. Ernest Jones[1] has observed that Freud discovered the existence of three character traits that are most typically related to highly developed anal erotism—namely, orderliness, parsimony and self-willedness or obstinacy. To these three primary traits there belong a number of subsidiary attributes, some of which are of a positive nature (sublimations), while others bear a negative character (reaction-formations), and correspond to barriers erected against the repressed tendencies.

I shall now proceed to essay an attempt to apply these principles to some of the main features, first of the Hindu cosmogony and then to the general character-complex of the races of India that are usually spoken of as 'Hindu'.

Probably the most striking feature of Hinduism, certainly one that has exerted, and continues to exert, incalculable influence on the lives of all Hindus, is that remarkable social organisation which has been rather unfortunately termed 'caste'. Caste is a Portuguese word (*casta*) and was first introduced into India about the middle of the sixteenth century by the Portugese. Max Mueller[2] rightly insists on the misunderstanding that has followed upon the employment of this term 'caste' to the social organisation of the Hindus, but neither he, nor Risley, nor Dubois, nor, in fact, any of the numerous writers on the subject of 'caste', has appreciated the fundamental difference of these social distinctions of the Hindus as compared, for instance, to the social divisions that existed among the ancient Egyptians, the Jews, the Greeks, as well as that separation of the public body of the Sabines and Romans by Numa Pompilius. As Farquhar[3] observes, there was at the time which brought forth the Rigveda, the earliest literature in India, 'no caste among the Aryan tribes'. There was, on the other hand 'a triple division of the people into warriors, priests and commons, but there was no hard and fast law prohibiting inter-marriage and commanding

[1] Ernest Jones: Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 2nd. Edition, 1918, p. 665.
[2] Max Mueller: The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, p. 9.
[3] J. N. Farquhar: Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 5.

each son to follow his father's occupation'. Certainly, we do find in the celebrated 'Purusha hymn' of the Rig-veda (Mandala X. 90) an allusion to the distinction of 'castes', but this hymn is admitted to be a comparatively modern production. It is not until we come to that form of Brahmanism which may be termed the Nomistic or Preceptive phase, because it represents that period in Indian religious history when the Brahmans composed codes of law (Kalpa-Sutras) and laid down precise precepts for the constitution of the Hindu social fabric, that we encounter definite expressions of separate divisions of the Hindus.

Now however one may attempt to rationalise the sub-divisions as the outcome of purely social and economical, or even political, considerations, as has been done hitherto by all writers on the subject, we cannot get away from the fact that the basal principle underlying this organisation is one that is wholly concerned with a 'pollution-complex', for which assumption there could not exist better nor more conclusive evidence than the conception of the existence of a class of 'Untouchables'. As I have already observed, it is the idea of 'pollution' with its concommittant creation of a section of the body politic into 'Outcastes', 'shut out in their filth and in their poverty', that makes the Hindus unique among the other races of mankind. To establish this view more fully it will now be necessary to embark on a review of the history of Hindu religious and philosophical systems as well as of the practices and beliefs to which these systems have given rise.

It has already been observed that the early Vedic religion, as epitomised in the Samhitas, does not afford such numerous examples of the part played at that epoch by anal-erotic impulses as we find in later manifestations of Hindu belief and practice. Nevertheless, in the triad of deities which constitute the true gods of the Veda—namely, the Fire-god (Agni), the Rain-god (Indra), and the Sun-god (Surya or Savirti), we have examples of the association of ideas traceable to an unconscious 'flatus-complex.'

Ernest Jones[1] in a most interesting monograph has dealt with some of the aspects of the part played in art and religion by this complex, so that it is perhaps out of place to mention

[1] Ernest Jones 'Die Empfängnis der Jungfrau Maria durch das Ohr', *Jahrb. d. Psa.* Bd. VI, 1914.

here the fact that Kunti, the wife of the Sun-god, gave birth to a son Karna, so-called because he came forth from his mother's ear. Further manifestations of this same complex are met with again in the religion of the Veda in the so-called Sama-veda, a collection of liturgical hymns for chanting at particular sacrifices. In these hymns we find certain syllables, called 'stobhas', interpolated, e. g., hai, hau, hoyi, huva, hoi, etc., which from their nature support the views expressed by Jones [1] and Ferenczi [2] that the ideas of speech are equivalent in the unconscious with that of passing flatus, and from this may arise the superstitious belief in the omnipotence of words. Later on, when we shall come to examine those mystical letters and syllables known as 'Bijas' we shall meet with still more remarkable examples of the same idea.

In the Sama-veda we also find the beginnings of another type of anal-erotic complex, namely the desire for self-control, which lies at the root of perhaps the most typical of all the manifestations of Hinduism—namely, 'Yoga'. Deussen [3] says 'The phenomenon of asceticism made its appearance among the Hindus earlier and occupied a larger place than among any other known people.' Although there are many other sources of these ascetic and self-martyring impulses, a not unimportant one is, as Ernest Jones [4] observes, 'the lasting influence of the infant's ambition to achieve *control* of his sphincters, his first great lesson of the kind'. To this view enormous support is to be found in such Hindu practices as those detailed in the 'Hatha-yoga-pradipika', one of many treatises on Yoga. For instance we read: [5] 'The *asanas* or postures are said to be eighty-four in number, and each has its peculiar influence on the body and the mind... Of all the different postures four are said to be the best... Sit with the body perfectly straight after placing the right foot in the cavity between the left thigh and the calf, and the left foot in the cavity between the right thigh and the calf. This is called *svastikasana*. Having pressed the perinaeum with the end of the left foot, place the end of the right foot on the spot exactly above the penis. Then fix the chin steadily on the heart and

[1] Ernest Jones: Papers, etc., op. cit., p. 687.

[2] S. Ferenczi: Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, p. 269 et seq.

[3] Deussen: The Religion and Philosophy of India, p. 66.

[4] Ernest Jones: op. cit., p. 674.

[5] Manilal Nabhubhai Dvidedi: The Yoga-Sutra of Patanjali, Appendix, p. 1.

remaining unmoved like a post, direct the eyes to the spot in the middle of the brows. This is *siddhasana.* In all the eighty-four postures always practise the *siddhasana,* for it is that which purifies all the seventy-two thousand *nadis.*' Again, 'Place the right foot in an inverted position under the right part of the perinaeum and the left foot under the left part, and hold both the feet by both the hands.' Again, 'So long as the *Nadis,* the vehicles of *prana,* are obstructed by abnormal humours, there is no possibility of the *prana* running in the middle course (*sasumna*) and of accomplishing the *unmani-mudra.* Hence *pranayama* should be practised in the first instance for the clearance of these humours. The *pranayama* for this purpose is as follows. Having assumed the *padmasana* posture, the *yogin* should inhale at the left nostril and, having retained the breath for the time he easily can, should let it off at the opposite nostril; and repeat the same process beginning with the nostril where he exhales... As helps to *pranayama,* and even as independent practices leading to several important results and even to *samadhi,* there are certain physico-mental postures which are called *mudras.* They are ten in number... of these I shall describe three. *Uddiyana* consists in drawing in the navel and the parts above and below it. *Mulabandha* consists in drawing in the parts of the anus, and in mentally exerting as if to draw the *apana* upwards towards the navel.'

The following are a few extracts from an English translation of the 'Yoga-Sutra' written by one Patanjali about the second century, B.C., with notes by the translator:

XL. From purity arises disgust for one's own body and non-intercourse with others.

Note. The purity here referred to is physical or external; mental or internal purity will be dealt with in the following aphorism. One who has understood purity naturally looks with disgust upon his physical body which is full of impurities, and he feels no strong desire to associate with others.

XLI. Moreover, there arise clear passivity, pleasantness of mind, fixity of attention, subjugation of the senses, and fitness for communion with soul.

Note. The results here enumerated are the consequences of mental purity.

XLIX. This being accomplished, *pranayama* follows, the cutting off of the course of the inspiration and expiration of the breath.

Note. Having described the fourth accessory of Yoga, it is proposed to describe here the nature of the fifth which is *paranayama* or control of the breath. It consists of suspending the natural course of the breath, viz., expiration and inspiration.

L. It is external, internal or steady; regulated by place, time and number; and is long and short.

Note. Paranayama is of four kinds. Three of these are described here, and the fourth is described in the following aphorism. When the breath is expired, or held out as it is technically called, it is *rechaka,* the first *pranayama.* When it is drawn in, it is the second, called *puraka.* And when it is suspended, all at once, it is the third, called *kumbhaka.* Each of these is regulated by place, time, etc. By place is meant the inside or outside of the body, and the particular length of the breath in the act. The length of the breath is said to vary in accordance with the prevailing *tattva.*

It is calculated that the breath is respectively 12, 16, 4, 8, and 0, finger-breadths long, according as the *tattva* is *prthvi, apas, tejas, vayu* or *akasa.* This, again, externally as well as internally. Time is time of the duration of each of these... Works on *Yoga* say that the number should slowly be carried to so far as eighty, every time one sits for the practice... *Udghata* appears to mean the rising of the breath from the navel, and its striking at the roof of the palate. *Pranayama* has as its chief object the mixing of *prana,* the upper breath, and *apana* the lower breath, and raising them upwards, by degrees and stages, till they subside in the head.

LI. The fourth is that which has reference to the external and internal object.

Note. The steady kind of pranayama called *kumbhaka* is a stopping of the inspiration and expiration of the breath without reference to its external or internal position ... It considers the position of the breath in the various *padmas.* The *padmas* are supposed to be plexuses formed by nerves and ganglia of different places in the body. They are generally believed to be seven in number, and are called *adhara* (at the anus), *adhisthana* (between the navel and the penis), *manipura* (at the navel), *anahata* (at the heart), *visuddhi* (in the throat), *ajna* (between the eyebrows), and *sahasrara* (in the pineal gland).

In the foregoing examples, which are typical of thousands of others, we have an exquisite manifestation of the process of 'sublimation', in this case the conversion of the impulse to control the *sphincter ani,* especially in its relation to the passage of flatus into a most elaborate quasi-philosophical system.

We must now return to what Monier Williams[1] calls the 'second phase' of Indian religious thought, namely Philosophical Brahmanism. Here we once more find the flatus-complex

[1] Monier Williams: Brahmanism and Hinduism, p. 25.

masquerading as a metaphysical Spirit (Atman)—'a divine afflatus' which permeated and breathed through all material things. This Atman received the name of Brahman, (nominative neuter of Brahma, from the root 'brih', to expand). Such was the fundamental doctrine of Brahmanism, but it soon became a more complex system and Monier Williams[1] divides it up into, (i) Ritualistic, (ii) Philosophical (iii) Mythological or Polytheistic, and (iv) Nomistic.

Ritualistic Brahmanism has for its special bible the sacred treatise, called Brahmanas, which are added to the Rig-veda. According to Farquhar,[2] during the time when the Brahmans were coming into being the first order of hermits arose. These men gave up all business of the world and practised austerities (*tapas*), sacrifice and meditation. As early as the Vedic creation-myths the creator of the universe is said to have prepared himself for his work by the practice of 'tapas'. In this word, says Deussen,[3] 'the ancient idea of the "heat" which serves to promote the incubation of the egg of the universe blends with the ideas of the exertion, fatigue and self-renunciation, by which means the creator is transmuted into the universe which he proposes to create'. Ritualistic Brahmanism saw the development of the idea of the great efficacy of sacrifice and with this notion there came into being an intricate ritual. Every ceremonial rite had to be performed with pedantic accuracy which, as Ernest Jones[4] has pointed out, is another well recognised trait of an anal-erotic complex. The whole course of prayer, praise, ritual and oblation lasted often for weeks, sometimes for years, and could then only be carried out by sixteen different classes of skilled priests.

With the rise of Philosophical Brahmanism there followed a reaction from the pedantic ritual of the Brahmans with a return to an insistence on the importance of knowledge of the one universally-diffused Spiritual essence (Brahman) and a concommittant feeling that this purely spiritual knowledge made sacrificial ceremonies useless. The special book of this phase of Brahmanism is the Upanishads and it is in them that we encounter the quintessence of Hindu metaphysical speculation. In the Upanishads the anal-erotic complexes find gratification in a striving after perfection,

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.
[2] J. N. Farquhar: op. cit., p. 29.
[3] Deussen: The Religion and Philosophy of India, p. 66.
[4] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

for the essential aim of the Upanishads is to explain reality, to discover the Absolute. The teaching of the Upanishads circle round the central conception of Brahman-Atman, the source, the support and the reality of the universe. The idea embodied in the Upanishads may be said to find its expression in the following lines from the Kathaka, V., 9-11.

> The light, as one, penetrates into space,
> And yet adapts itself to every form;
> So the inmost self of all beings dwells
> Enwrapped in every form, and yet remains outside.
>
> The air, as one, penetrates into space,
> And yet adapts itself to every form;
> So the inmost self of all beings dwells
> Enwrapped in every form, and yet remains outside.
>
> The sun, the eye of the whole universe,
> Remains pure from the defects of eyes external to it;
> So the inmost self of all beings remains
> Pure from the sufferings of the external worlds.

But it is in those portions of the Upanishads which are concerned with physiological conclusions as to the nature of the body that we find the greatest abundance of ideas associated with anal erotic complexes. For instance, in the Maitrayana we find the following: 'In this evil-smelling unsubstantial body, shuffled together out of bones, skin, sinews, marrow, flesh, seed, blood, mucus, tears, eye-gum, dung, urine, gall and phlegm, how can we enjoy pleasure? This body, originating from copulation, grown in the pit (of the mother's womb) and issuing forth through the passages of the excretions, is a collection of bones daubed over with flesh, covered with skin, filled full with dung, urine, phlegm, marrow, fat and grease; and to crown all with many diseases, like a treasure store crammed with treasure'.

The most complete elucidation of the body and its relations is furnished by the Garbha Upanishad: 'Consisting of five (earth, water, fire, wind, ether), ruling in these groups of five (the so-called five elements, or the five organs of knowledge, or the organs of generation and evacuation), supported on six (the sweet, sour, salt, bitter, acid and harsh juices of food), endowed with six

qualities (unexplained), made up of seven elementary substances (the white, red, grey, smoke-coloured, yellow, brown, pale fluid in the body which is produced from the juice of the food), made up of three kinds of mucus (unexplained, probably the three humours, viz., wind, gall, phlegm), twice-begotten (from the father's seed and from the mother's blood), partaking of various kinds of food (that which is eaten, drunk, licked and sucked up), is the body.'

We may now proceed to review that phase of Brahmanism which Monier Williams[1] calls the Mythological or Polytheistic. This phase has for its sacred books the two great legendary heroic poems (Itihasa), the Mahabarata and Ramayana, and, in later times, the Puranas. Monier Williams[2] writes as follows:

'The religious instincts of the mass of the Hindus found no real satisfaction in the propitiation of the forces of nature and spirits of the air, or in the cold philosophy of pantheism, or in homage paid to the memory of a teacher held to be nowhere in existence. They needed devotion (bhakti) to personal and human gods, and these they were led to find in their own heroes'.

Hence the idea spread that all visible forms on earth are 'emanations' from the one eternal Entity, 'like drops from an ocean or like sparks from fire'. They maintained that the highest human manifestations of the eternal Brahma are the Brahmans, and that above the human Brahmans there exists a series of supernatural beings, demi-gods, inferior gods, superior gods and so on up to the primeval male god Brahma, the first personal product of the purely spiritual Brahma when overspread by Maya or illusory creative force. But as creation involves maintenance of being and disintegration, Brahma is associated with two other personal deities, Vishnu the Preserver, and Rudra-Siva, the Dissolver and Reproducer. These three gods, concerned in the threefold operation of integration (evolution), maintenance and disintegration, are typified by the three letters composing the mystic syllable OM (AUM) — yet another manifestation of the flatus-complex. Another interesting point is the idea that at the end of vast periods of time, called, 'days of Brahma', each lasting 4,320,000,000 human years, the whole universe is re-absorbed, and after remaining dormant for equally long periods, is again evolved. A 'day' of Brahma is said to be divided thus:

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit., p. 41.
[2] Monier Williams; op. cit., p. 42.

(1) The Krita-Yuga	1,728,000	years
(2) The Treta-Yuga	1,296,000	„
(3) The Dvapara-Yuga . . .	864,000	„
(4) The Kali-Yuga	432,000	„
A Mahayuga	4,320,000	„
	71	
A Manu period	306,720,000	„
	14	
	4,294,080,000	„
With fifteen intervals of 1,728.000 each	25,920,000	„
	4,320,000,000	„

Jones[1] maintains that 'time' in its ordinary and personal application can be an unconscious equivalent of excretory product because of the sense of value attaching to it. Are we not at liberty to suppose that the explanation of the origin of these almost incredible figures has its root in somewhat similar notions? There exist throughout the literature that pertains to Hindu religion and philosophy almost endless examples of that particular type of thinking which is concerned so deeply with figures. It appears to me as not unlikely that playing and juggling with figures is an intellectual form of the manipulation of external objects. In other words, it is the purely mental equivalent of moulding, sculpture, and the manipulation of plastic material.

The Ramayana, one of the famous epic poems of the period of Mythological Brahmanism, to which reference has been made already, teams with numbers of colossal magnitude. For example, the host of Ravan, the demon opponent of Rama, consisted of 150,000,000 elephants, 300,000,000 horses and 1,200,000,000 asses; and so on.

In the Harsa-Carita of Bana, a historical romance dating from the seventh century of our era, the epic poets are positively outdone. Here is a description of the camp of Sri-Hirsa.

'It seemed like a creation-ground where the Prajapatis practised their skill, or a fourth world made out of the choicest parts of the other three; its glory could not be described in hundreds of

[1] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

Mahabharatas—it must have been put together in a thousand golden ages, and its perfection constructed with millions of swargas (heàvens), and it seemed watched over by crores (1 crore is equal to 10,000,000) of tutelary royal deities'.

The fourth phase of Brahmanism according to Monier Williams [1] may be called the Nomistic or Preceptive phase. It represents the period in Indian religious history when the Brahmans compiled codes of law for the co-ordination of its different castes and for the regulation of everyday domestic life. It is especially noteworthy that the introduction of these codes which promulgated drastically and pedantically ordinances in regard to every act of a man's domestic life was accompanied by an increase of laxity and liberty in regard to all forms of religious belief. The reason for this is not very difficult to see. The three principle codes, the Manava Dharmasutra, the Yajnavalkya and the Parasara, embodied ideas that offered much greater facilities not only for sublimation of anal-erotic impulses but for the formation of barriers against such impulses. The most important of these three codes was the Manava Dharmasutra, more usually known as the Law of Manu. It deals pre-eminently with the subject of conduct. The word Dharma means that which is obligatory and is thus similar to the Latin *religio*. The three codes combine to form a kind of bible and as such are mirrors of Indian domestic customs.

Ernest Jones [2] remarks: 'It is astounding how many tasks and performances can symbolise in the unconscious the act of defaecation, and thus have the mental attitude towards them influenced by the anal-erotic character traits when these are present. Three classes of actions are particularly prone to become affected in this way. First, tasks where there is a special sense of duty or of "oughtness" attached, therefore especially moral tasks. Much of the pathologically intolerant insistence on the absolute necessity of doing certain things in exactly the "right" way is derived from this source. The person has an overwhelming sense of "mustness" which brooks of no argument and renders him quite incapable of taking any sort of detached or objective view of the matter; there is only one side to the question, and it is not open to any discussion at all.'

We have already noted (p. 312) how this sense of 'oughtness' as

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.

[2] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

well as that feeling of the absolute necessity of doing certain things in exactly the 'right' way were of the greatest importance in the period which we have termed Ritualistic Brahmanism. We shall now see how these same feelings have sought gratification when under the influence of the codes of conduct peculiar to the Nomistic or Preceptive period.

Indeed it would appear only possible to explain the vast majority of the ideas that govern the life of the Hindus, especially the Brahman, on the assumption that his thoughts, actions and words are profoundly influenced by unconscious complexes associated with the act of defaecation.

To simplify our illustration we will first pursue an orthodox Brahman male adult through his day from his getting up in the morning to his retiring to rest at night.

A Brahman should rise every day about an hour and a half before the sun appears above the horizon. On rising, his first thought should be of Vishnu, and he should do all he can to avoid any inauspicious sights and to cast his eyes on something of good omen. Confusion might be introduced into the household for the rest of the day were the householder to cast his eyes on a crow on his left hand, a kite on his right, a snake, cat, jackal, or hare, an empty vessel, smoky fire, a bundle of sticks, a widow, a man with one eye, or even with a big nose. On the other hand, should the householder's first glance fall on a cow, horse, elephant, parrot, a lizard on an east wall, a clear fire, a virgin, or two Brahmans, all will go right.[1]

Then after calling upon certain gods to cause the sun to rise, he recites several prayers and performs several meditations, reminding himself that this daily task to be meritorious must be done zealously and piously, and not indifferently and perfunctorily. He must then perform the *hari-smarana,* which consists in reciting aloud the litanies of Vishnu and repeating his thousand names. These preliminaries ended he must attend to the calls of nature and the following rules must be closely obeyed:[1]

Rules to be observed by Brahmins when answering the calls of nature:

I. Taking in his hand a big chembu (brass vessel) he will proceed

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.

to the place set apart for this purpose, which should be at least a bowshot from his domicile.

II. Arrived at the place he will begin by taking off his slippers, which he deposits some distance away, and will then choose a clean spot on level ground.

III. The places to be avoided for such a purpose are: the enclosure of a temple; the edge of a river, pond, or well; a public thoroughfare or a place frequented by the public; a light-coloured soil; a ploughed field; and any spot close to a banian or any other sacred tree.

IV. A Brahmin must not at the time wear a new or newly-washed cloth.

V. He will take care to hang his triple cord over his left ear and to cover his head with his loin-cloth.

VI. He will stoop down as low as possible. It would be a great offence to relieve oneself standing upright or only half stooping: it would be a still greater offence to do so sitting on the branch of a tree or upon a wall.

VII. While in this posture he should take particular care to avoid the great offence of looking at the sun or the moon, the stars, fire, a Brahmin, a temple, an image, or one of the sacred trees.

VIII. He will keep perfect silence.

IX. He must chew nothing, have nothing in his mouth, and hold nothing on his head.

X. He must do what he has to do as quickly as possible, and rise immediately.

XI. After rising he will commit a great offence if he looks behind his heels.

XII. If he neglects none of these precautions his act will be a virtuous one, and not without merit; but if he neglects any of them the offence will not go without punishment.

XIII. He will wash his feet and hands on the very spot with the water contained in the chembu which he brought. Then, taking the vessel in his right hand, and holding his private parts in his left hand, he will go to the stream to purify himself from the great defilement which he has contracted.

XIV. Arrived at the edge of the river or pond where he pur-

[1] Dubois and Beauchamp: Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, 3rd. Edition, p. 237.

poses to wash himself, he will first choose a suitable spot, and will then provide himself with some earth to be used along with the water in cleansing himself.

XV. He must be careful to provide himself with the proper kind of earth, and must remember that there are several kinds which cannot be used without committing an offence under these circumstances. Such are the earth of white-ants' nests; salt-earth; potters' earth; road-dust; bleaching earth; earth taken from under trees, from temple enclosures, from cemeteries, from cattle pastures; earth that is almost white like ashes; earth thrown up from rat holes and such like.

XVI. Provided with the proper kind of earth, he will approach the water but will not go into it. He will take some in his chembu. He will then go a little distance away and wash his feet and hands again. If he has not a brass vessel he will dig a little hole in the ground with his hands near the river-side and will fill it with water which he will use in the same way, taking great care that this water shall not leak back into the river.

XVII. Taking a handful of earth in his left 'hand'[1] he will pour water in it and rub it well on the dirty part of his body. He will repeat the operation, using only half the amount of earth, and so on three times more, the amount of earth being lessened each time.

XVIII. After cleansing himself thus he will wash each of his hands[2] five times with earth and water, beginning with the left hand.

[1] He must not use that portion of the hand sacred to the Pitris or spirits of his departed ancestors, namely the part between the thumb and the fore-finger which is called 'pitrya'.

[2] It is only the left hand that may be used on these occasions. It would be thought unpardonably filthy to use the right hand. It is always the left hand that is used when anything dirty has to be done, such as blowing the nose, cleaning the ears, the eyes, etc. The right hand is generally used when any part of the body above the navel is touched, and the left hand below that. All Hindus are so habituated to this that one rarely sees them using the wrong hand. The custom of carefully washing the dirty part after answering a call of nature is strictly observed in every caste. The European habit of using paper is looked upon by all Hindus, without exception, as an utter abomination, and they never speak of it except with horror. There are some who even refuse to believe such a habit exists, and think it must be a libel invented out of hatred for Europeans. I am quite sure that when Hindus talk amongst themselves of what they call our dirty, beastly habits, they

XIX. He will wash his private parts once with water and potters' earth mixed.

XX. The same performance for his two feet, repeated five times for each foot, beginning, under the penalty of eternal damnation, with the right foot.

XXI. Having thus scoured the different parts of his body with earth and water he will wash them a second time with water only.

XXII. After that he will wash his face and rinse his mouth out eight times.[1] When he is doing this last act he must take very great care to spit out the water on his left side, for if by carelessness or otherwise he unfortunately spits it out on the other side, he will assuredly go to hell.

XXIII. He will think three times on Vishnu and will swallow a little water three times in doing so.

Rules to be observed when cleaning the teeth.

I. To clean his teeth a Hindu must use a small twig cut from either an uduga, a rengu, or a neradu tree, or from one of a dozen others of which the names are given by the author.

II. If such a twig is unobtainable, he may use a bit of wood cut from any thorny or milky shrub.

III. Before cutting the twig he must repeat the following prayer to the gods of the woods: 'O gods of the woods! I cut one of your small twigs to cleanse my teeth. Grant me, for this action, long life, strength, honour, wit, many cattle and much wealth, prudence, judgment, memory, and power'.

IV. This prayer ended, he cuts a twig a few inches in length, and softens one end into the form of a painter's brush.

V. Squatting on his heels and facing either east or north, he

never fail to put this at the head of them all, and to make it a subject of bitter sarcasm and mockery. The sight of a foreigner spitting or blowing his nose into a handkerchief and then putting it into his pocket is enough to make them feel sick. According to their notions it is the politest thing in the world to go outside and blow one's nose with one's fingers and then to wipe them on a wall.

[1] It is necessary to rinse the mouth out after every action which is calculated to cause any defilement. The rule is to rinse the mouth out four times after making water, eight times after answering an ordinary call of nature, twelve times after taking food, and sixteen times after sexual intercourse.

scrubs all his teeth well with this brush after which he rinses his mouth with fresh water.

VI. He must not indulge in this cleanly habit every day. He must abstain on the sixth, the eighth, the ninth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, and the last day of the moon, on the days of new and full moon, on the Tuesday in every week, on the day of the constellation under which he was born, on the day of the week and on the day of the month which correspond with those of his birth, at an eclipse, at the conjunction of the planets, at the equinoxes, the solstices, and other unlucky epochs, and also on the anniversary of the death of his father or mother.

VII. Any one who cleans his teeth with his bit of stick on any of the above-mentioned days will have hell as his portion!

VIII. He may, however, except on the day of the new moon and on the *ekadasi* (eleventh day of the moon), substitute grass or the leaves of a tree for this piece of wood.

IX. On the day of the new moon and on the *ekadasi* he may only clean his teeth with the leaves of the mango, the juvi, or the nere.

After having cleaned his teeth the Brahmin must direct his steps to some water to go through the important act of the *sandhya*.

Teeth-cleaning is only preliminary to the next important religious act of the day—bathing (snana). According to Monier Williams[1] 'This should be performed in some sacred stream, but in default of a river, the householder may use a pool or tank, or even, in case of dire necessity, a bath in his own house. Before entering the water the bather ought to say, "I am about to perform morning ablution in this sacred stream in the presence of the gods and Brahmans with a view to the removal of guilt resulting from act, speech, thought from what has been touched and untouched, known and unknown, eaten and not eaten, drunk and not drunk."' After bathing comes the ceremony of Bhasmadharana, or application of ashes. This is done by rubbing ashes taken from the sacred domestic hearth on the head and other parts of the body, with the repetition of a prayer to Siva. The next act is Sikha-Bandhana, or tying up of the locks on the crown of the head, lest any hair, thought to convey impurity, should fall on the ground or in the water. All preliminary acts and purifications being now completed,

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.

the pious Hindu proceeds to the regular Morning Service, called Pratah-Sandhya, performed at the junction of night and day. The first act of the morning service, and, as stated before, the usual preliminary to all Hindu religious rites, is sipping water (acamana); two or three mouthfuls being swallowed for internal ablution. The water is taken up in the hollowed palm of the right hand or poured from a spoon into the palm, and is supposed to cleanse body and soul in its downward course. This is done two or three times at the commencement of the Morning Service. During the sipping of the water the twenty-four principal names of the god Vishnu are invoked. The second act is called the Pranayama, 'exercise or regulation of the breath', to which reference has already been made on page 310. The next division of the ceremonial is called Marjana, 'sprinkling'. It is a kind of self-baptism performed by the worshipper himself by sprinkling water on the head while the first three verses of the Rig-Veda are recited. Then follows a second performance of Marjana, or 'sprinkling', and a repetition of all the nine verses of the Rig-Veda hymn of which the first three verses had been previously recited. The next division of the service is called Karna-nyasa, or 'imposition of fingers'. Its peculiar ritual is taught in the more modern religious works called Tantras. To understand the Karna-nyasa we must bear in mind that the five fingers and the palm of the hand are consecrated to various forms of Vishnu, and that different gods are supposed to reside in different parts of the body, the Supreme Being occupying the top of the head. Hence the act of placing the fingers or hand reverentially on the several organs is supposed to gratify and do honour to the deities whose essence pervade these organs, and to be completely efficacious in removing sin. The tip of the thumb is held to be occupied by Govinda, the forefinger by Mahidhara, the middle finger by Hrishikesa, the next finger by Tri-vikrama, the little finger by Vishnu, the palm of the hand by Madhava, all being different forms of the same god Vishnu. The worshipper then commences the nyasa ceremonial by saying: 'Homage to the two thumbs, to the two forefingers, to the middle fingers, to the two nameless fingers (i. e. the ring fingers), to the two little fingers, to the two palms, to the two backs of the hands.' Then follows another division of the Nyasa ceremonial called Indriya-Sparsa, or the act of touching different parts of the body, such as the breast, eyes, ears, navel, throat, and head with the fingers.

Next comes the regular Gayatri-japa, or repeated muttering of the Gayatri prayer to the sun. Before beginning this repetition, those who follow the Tantrik system go through the process of making various mystical figures called Mudras, twenty-four in number, by twisting, interlacing or intertwining the fingers and hands together. Each of these figures, according to its name, bears some fanciful resemblance to animals or objects of various kinds, as for example, to a fish, tortoise, boar, lion (these being forms in which the god Vishnu became incarnate), or to a cart, noose, knot, garland, the efficacy attributed to these peculiar intertwinings and twistings of the hands and fingers being enormous. The correct number of repetitions is 108, and to insure accuracy of enumeration a rosary of 108 beads made of Tulasi wood is generally used, the hand being carefully concealed in a red bag or under a cloth. The last act, like the first, is an internal purification of the body by *acamana,* or sipping of water. On the completion of the Sandhya service, the next ceremony is the worship of the Supreme Being, the act being known as Brahma-yajna. The Brahma-yajna is followed by the Tarpana ceremony, which is properly a triple act, consisting in offerings of water for refreshment (tarpana) to the gods, inspired sages, and fathers. In the first part, called Deva-tarcana, 'refreshing of the gods', the sacred thread is worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm, the worshipper being then called Upaviti. Water is taken up in the right hand and poured out over the straightened fingers. In the second part of the Tarpana service, called Rishi-tarpana, 'refreshing of the inspired sages', the sacred thread is worn round the neck like a necklace the worshipper being then called Niviti. The water is then offered so as to flow over the side of the palm between the root of the thumb and fore-finger, the fingers being bent inwards. The worshipper now changes the position of his sacred thread, and placing it over his right shoulder and under his left arm (being then called Pracinaviti) makes offerings of water to the Acaryas, or inspired religious teachers. The third division of the Tarpana ceremony is called Pitritarpana, 'refreshing of deceased fathers or departed ancestors'. The thread is worn over the right shoulder as in Acarya-tarpana, but the water is poured out over the side of the palm opposite to the root of the thumb.

As Monier Williams[1] observes: 'An orthodox Brahman's craving for religious ceremonial is not by any means satiated by the tedious round of forms he has gone through in the early morning. A pause of an hour or two brings him to the time when preparations for another solemn rite have to be made. This is the ceremony which ought to precede the midday meal'. This ceremony is divided into two parts which are known as the Vaisvadeva and Bali-harana. The detail of both as given in the most trustworthy manuals is as follows:[2]

The worshipper begins by the usual sippings of water (acamana) and breathing exercise (page 310), and by declaring his intention of performing the ceremony thus: 'I will today perform the morning and evening Vaisvadeva with the cooked food (siddhana) cast into the fire, for the purification of that food and for my own purification, and to make expiation of the five destructive domestic implements (Panca-suna),[3] and to obtain the reward prescribed by the Sruti, Smriti and Puranas.' Then a small moveable fire-receptacle is brought and the service begins with an invocation of the god of fire. After this invocation a covered dish of uncooked rice is brought in and the cover removed. Then the sacred fire is placed in the receptacle. Consecrated fuel is then put on and the fire fanned while the following remarkable text from the Rig-Veda IV, 58, 3, is recited: 'Four are his horns, three are his feet, two are his heads, seven are his hands. He the triply-bound bull roars. The mighty deity enters mortals'. The collecting together and spreading of the consecrated fuel and sacred Kusa grass employed in the ceremony are then made; and water is sprinkled round in a circle. Next, the rice about to be eaten is consecrated by the sprinkling of water and placed on the fire. After this prayer offerings are made with the usual reverential ejaculations. Next, the worshipper, after purifying his person and washing his hands, makes offerings to all the gods, throwing portions of cooked rice—each portion about equal to a mouthful—into the fire. The next act is the taking up of ashes from the fire in a deep-bowled spoon

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.

[2] Idem: op. cit.

[3] The five places, or domestic implements, through the use of which animals may be accidentally destroyed in the process of preparing food, are, (1) the fire place, (2) the slab for grinding corn, (3) the pots and pans, (4) the pestle and mortar, (5) the water pot.

called Darvi, and the application of a small quantity with the finger to different parts of the body, and the utterance of a prayer. The ashes are applied to the forehead, the neck, the navel, the right shoulder, the left shoulder, and the head respectively. Another prayer to the god of fire concludes the Vaisvadeva portion of the service. But the Vaisvadeva ceremony is not complete without the Vali-harana, or offering of food to all gods and all creatures, including all kinds of animals and spirits. The worshipper begins by placing a small mouthful of cooked rice in a circle on the ground between himself and the fire-receptacle, allotting separate portions to all the gods to whom offerings have already been made in the fire, as well as to other beings outside the circle, in regular order. After the due performance of the Vaisvadeva and Bali-harana ceremonies the cooked food is considered fit to be consumed, but yet other ceremonies are due in the matter of eating and drinking. In the first place, the usual sipping of water (acamana) for internal purification, has to be performed. Each diner pours water with a spoon into the palm of the hand, then someone leads the others and all sip together. Next, water is sprinkled in a circle round each plate, and someone of the company repeats a grace before eating. After the recitation of this grace the actual business of eating may begin, but each person first places either four or five small mouthfuls of food on the ground on the right side of his leaf plate. His meal over, the Hindu (Brahman) washes his hands and rinses his mouth. He must also gargle his throat twelve times. Towards sunset he returns to the river and performs the evening *sandhya*, repeating the ceremonies of the morning. On his return home he performs the *homam* for the second time, and reads some Puranas. He again goes through the Hari-Smarana. Having completed his religious duties for the day, he takes his evening meal, observing the usual ceremonies, and goes to bed soon afterwards. A Brahman must purify the place where he is going to sleep by rubbing it over with cow dung, and he must manage so that the place cannot be overlooked by any one. A Brahman must never sleep on a mountain, in a graveyard, in a temple, in any place where they do *puja* (worship), in any place dedicated to evil spirits, under the shadow of a tree, on ground that has been tilled, in a cowshed, in the house of his guru (spiritual teacher), in any spot that is higher than that where there happens to be the image of some god, or where there are ashes, holes made by

rats, or where snakes generally live. A Brahman puts a vessel of water and a weapon near where he lays his head. He rubs his feet, washes his mouth twice, and then lies down. A Brahman must never go to bed with his feet wet, nor sleep under the beam which supports the roof of the house. He must avoid sleeping with his face turned to the west or north. If it is impossible to arrange it otherwise it would be better to be turned towards the north than towards the west. When lying down he offers worship to the earth, to Vishnu, to Nandikeswara one of the chief spirits who guard Siva, and to the bird *garuda* (Brahmany kite), to whom he makes the following prayer: 'Illustrious son of Kasyapa and Vinata! King of birds, with beauteous wings and sharp-pointed beak; you who are the enemy of snakes, preserve me from their poison!' Finally, the Brahman must again think of Vishnu, and this should be his last thought before sleeping.

We have now examined fairly fully the routine of an ordinary day of an orthodox Brahman. Of course, the details vary a little from those which have been quoted[1] according to the sect to which the Brahman may belong, the part of India in which he lives, and the degree of his orthodoxy. Nevertheless, the description may be taken as a very fairly correct account of the daily life of an orthodox Brahman, especially one belonging to Southern India.

In the rules laid down for the performance of excretory acts, we find an abundance of reaction-formations against the material emitted. Moreover, the passion for cleanliness is not confined to the *outside* of the body but extends to the *inside* also. Ample evidence of this exists in the scrupulous ceremonial observed in the preparation and consumption of food, as well as the repeated rinsings of the mouth and sippings of water. This intense fear of pollution is, as I have remarked at the outset, one of the most typical reaction-formations of the Hindus and probably no parallel can be found to it except among victims of obsessional neuroses of the type described by Ernest Jones.[2] It is not possible to give examples of all the expressions of this reaction-formation but one more may be cited in the case of the Ramanuja sect of the Vaishnavas (followers of Vishnu) who carefully lock the doors of their kitchens and protect

[1] Dubois and Beauchamp: op. cit.

[2] Ernest Jones: 'Einige Fälle von Zwangsneurose', *Jahrbuch f. Psychoanal. u. Psychopath. Forschung*, Bd. V, S. 55.

their culinary and prandial operations from the gaze of even high-caste Brahmans of tribes and sects different from their own.[1]

Again a close parallel between the thought processes in the obsessional neurotic and the Hindu is discernible in that particular type of belief which has been termed 'the omnipotence of thoughts'. Ferenczi[2] has divided up the course of development in the infant as regards its sense of reality into four stages. Of these, the third stage Ferenczi calls 'the period of omnipotence by the help of magic gestures'. Among these 'gestures' the sound produced by the passage of flatus play an important part so that, as Ernest Jones[3] observes, 'they constitute one of the chief means through which the infant retains its belief in its omnipotence, a consideration that throws some light on the above mentioned association between the belief and anal erotism in the obsessional neurosis'. Examples indicating the relation between certain practices of the Hindus and Ferenczi's 'third stage' were given on page 323. I will now give a still more extravagant example from the chapter by Monier Williams[4] which deals with Saktism, in which the idea of the omnipotence of words and thoughts, (Ferenczi's 'fourth stage') is very admirably illustrated. The following is a description of the rite of Bhuta-suddhi, 'removal of demons': 'Holding a scented flower, anointed with sandals, on the left temple, repeat *Om* to the Gurus, *Om* to Ganesh, *Om* to Durga. Then with *Om phat* rub the palms with flowers, and clasp the hands thrice over the head and by snapping the fingers towards ten different directions, secure immunity from the evil spirits. Next utter the Mantra *Ram,* sprinkle water all around, and imagine this water as a wall of fire. Let the priest identify himself with the living spirit (jivatman) abiding in man's breast, in the form of the tapering flame of a lamp, and conduct it by means of the Sushumna nerve through the six spheres within the body upwards to the Divine Spirit. Then meditate on the twenty-four essences in nature; viz. the Producer, Intellect, Egoism, the five subtle and five gross elements, the five external organs of sense, the five organs of action, with mind. Conceive in the left nostril the Mantra Yam, declared to be the Bija or root of wind;

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.

[2] S. Ferenczi: op. cit.

[3] Ernest Jones: op. cit., p. 546.

[4] Monier Williams: op. cit.

repeat it sixteen times while drawing air by the same nostril; then close the nose and hold the breath, and repeat the Mantra sixty-four times.

'Then meditate on the Matrika, and say, "Help me, goddess of speech": Am to the forehead, Am to the mouth, Im to the right eye, Im to the left eye, Um to the right ear, Um to the left ear, Im to the right cheek, Im to the left cheek, Rim to the right nostril, Rim to the left nostril, Lrim to the right cheek, Lrim to the left cheek, Em to the upper lip, Aim to the lower lip, Om to the upper teeth, Aum to the lower teeth, Tam, Tham, Dam, Dham, and Nam to the several parts of the left leg, Pam to the right side, Pham to the left, Bam to the back, Mam to the stomach, Yam to the heart, Ram to the right shoulder, Lam to the neck-bone, Vam to the left shoulder, Sam from the heart to the right leg, Ham from the heart to the left leg, Ksham from the heart to the mouth.'

Monier Williams[1] observes: 'To us it may seem extraordinary that intelligent persons can give credence to such absurdities, or lend themselves to the practice of superstitions so senseless; but we must bear in mind that with many Hindu thinkers the notion of the eternity of sound—as propounded in Patanjali's Mahabhashya (I. i. 1) and in the Purva-mimansa of Jaimini—is by no means an irrational doctrine. According to the well-known Mimansa aphorisms (I. i. 18-23), sound is held to have existed from the beginning, hence the letters of the alphabet, being the ultimate instruments by which sounds are uttered and thoughts expressed, are considered to possess supernatural qualities and attributes and to contain within themselves an occult magical efficacy. Let a man only acquaint himself with the proper pronounciation and application both of the Mantras and of their Bijas or radical letters, and he may thereby propitiate the *Saktis* so as to acquire through them superhuman power (siddhi)—nay, he becomes, through their aid, competent to accomplish every conceivable object.

Following Ernest Jones' scheme[2] of dividing up the reactions against anal erotism into four groups, of which two are derived from the 'keeping back' or possessing instinct, while the remaining two are characterised by the desire to create and produce,

[1] Monier Williams: op. cit.

[2] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

we may now proceed to examine some of the more marked and universal traits of character and temperament of the Hindus with a view of ascertaining, if possible, whether the singularity of the mental make-up of these people, as well as the antipathy they invariably display towards other religions whose main-spring, so to speak, lies in a totally different category of ideas, can be traced to the distinctive type of sublimations and reaction-formations of their anal erotism.

Ernest Jones[1] writes: 'the most typical sublimation product of the "retaining" tendency is the character trait of parsimony, one of Freud's triad; in the most pronounced cases it goes on to actual miserliness.' No one conversant with Hindu character, probably not even a Hindu himself, would hesitate to admit that as a class the Hindus are niggardly and avaricious, especially the Brahmans and Vaisyas, or trader caste. This trait of the Hindu character is piquantly dealt with in one of Rudyard Kipling's stories.[2] Although the facts as narrated are made to proceed from a disreputable European, they represent so much that is so true that I cannot refrain from quoting the whole passage: 'A year spent among native States ought to send a man back to the Decencies and the Law Courts and the Rights of the Subject with a supreme contempt for those who rave about the oppressions of our brutal bureaucracy. One month nearly taught an average Englishman that it was the proper thing to smite anybody of mean aspect and obstructive tendencies on the mouth with a shoe. Hear what an intelligent loafer said. His words are at least as valuable as these babblings. He was, as usual, wonderfully drunk, and the gift of speech came upon him. The conversation —he was a great politician, this loafer—had turned on the poverty of India. "Poor?" said he. "Of course it's poor. Oh, yes, d—d poor. And I'm poor, an' you're poor, altogether. Do you expect people will give you money without you ask 'em? No, I tell you, Sir, there's enough money in India to pave Hell with if you could only get at it. I've kep' servants in my day. Did they ever leave me without a hundred or a hundred and fifty rupees put by—and never touched? You mark that. Does any black man who had been in Guv'ment service go away without hundreds an' hundreds put by, and never touched? You mark that. Money?

[1] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

[2] 'From Sea to Sea' Vol. I, p. 196.

The place stinks o' money—just kept out o' sight. Do you ever know a native that didn't say *Garib admi* (I'm a poor man)? They've been sayin' *Garib admi* so long that the Guv'ment learns to believe 'em, and now they're all bein' treated as though they was paupers. I'm a pauper, an' you're a pauper—we' aven't got any thing hid in the ground—an' so's every white man in this forsaken country. But the Injian he's a rich man. How do I know? Because I've tramped on foot, or warrant pretty well from one end of the place to the other, an' I know what I'm talkin' about, and this 'ere Guv'ment goes peckin' an' fiddlin' over its tuppenny-ha'penny little taxes as if it was afraid. Which it is. You see how they do things in . . . It's six "sowars"[1] here, and ten "sowars" there, and, "Pay up, you brutes, or we'll pull your ears over your head." And when they've taken all they can get, the headman, he says: "This is a dashed poor yield. I'll come again." Of course the people digs up something out of the ground, and they pay. I know the way it's done, and that's the way to do it. You can't go to an Injian an' say: "Look here. Can you pay me five rupees?" He says: "*Garib admi*," of course, an' would say it if he was as rich as a banker. But if you send half a dozen swords at him and shift the thatch off of his roof he'll pay.'

Any one who knows India to any appreciable extent will agree that this story gives a lively account of two notable characteristics of the Hindu, namely, his avariciousness and his instinct to hoard.

A far more edifying manifestation of the same complex is, as Ernest Jones[2] observes, 'the great affection that may be displayed for various symbolic objects—and one of the most impressive traits in the whole gamut of the anal character is the extraordinay and quite exquisite tenderness that some members of the type are capable of, especially to children.' The Hindu is certainly passionately fond of children, at any rate of his own children. Children, like money, are faecal symbols[3] and there is a good deal in Hindu literature which displays evidence of the unconscious association of these two sets of ideas. For instance, the common idea that the baby is created out of faeces is reproduced in the story of the birth of Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, who was derived from the excrement of his mother Parvati. Again, at Nan-

[1] troopers.
[2] Ernest Jones: op. cit.
[3] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

jangud, a village situated about ten leagues south of Seringapatam, there is a temple famous throughout Mysore. Among the numerous votaries who flock to it are many women, who go to implore the help of the idol in curing their sterility. Offerings and prayers are not the only ceremonies which have to be gone through. On leaving the temple the woman, accompanied by her husband, has to go to a place where all the pilgrims are accustomed to resort to answer the calls of nature. There the husband and the wife collect with their hands a certain quantity of ordure and form it into a small pyramid, which they are careful to mark with a sign that will enable them to recognize it. Then they go to the neighbouring tank and mix in the hollow of their hands the filth which has soiled their fingers. After having performed their ablutions they retire. Two or three days afterwards they visit their pyramid, and, still using their hands, turn the filthy mass over and over and examine it as carefully and as seriously as the Roman augurs scrutinized the entrails of sacrificed animals, in order to see if any insects have been engendered in it. In this case it would be a very good omen, showing that the woman would soon be pregnant. But if, after careful search, not even the smallest insect is visible, the poor couple, sad and discouraged, return home in the full conviction that the expenses they have been put to and the pains they have taken have been of no avail.[1]

The chief reaction-formation of the retaining tendency is the trait which loves orderliness, the third of Freud's triad. How this trait expresses itself to an extraordinary degree in the pedantic ceremonial of Hindu worship has already been alluded to. Similarly in the field of thought reference has been made (p. 313) to the expression of the same tendency through the Hindu passion for definitions, especially in the realm of metaphysics. Probably the intense attraction which the study and practice of law has for Hindus is conditioned by their fondness for that particular form of intellectual exercise which is often termed 'hair-splitting'. In this same category we find the opposite of parsimony—extreme generosity and extravagance. The history of India teems with stories illustrating the extravagance of her princes, nobles and plutocrats. Dubois[2] states that immense fortunes seldom survive the second generation of Hindus, owing to the manner in

[1] Dubois and Beauchamp: op. cit.

[2] Dubois and Beauchamp: op. cit.

which the sons foolishly squander the wealth laboriously gained by their fathers. Ernest Jones[1] remarks : 'One can distinguish two varieties of even the positive aspect of the "giving out" type according to what is done with the product; with the one variety the person's aim is to eject the product on to some other object, living or not, while with the other the aim is to manipulate the product further and to create something out of it. To the former type belongs the impulse to stain or contaminate by throwing ink, acids or chemicals at people'. This impulse is typified in the Hindu ceremony of Holi, a kind of Hindu Saturnalia. It is marked by rough sports in which the worshippers either sprinkle each other with red or yellow powder, or squirt red or yellow fluid at each other with squirts. Probably painting the forehead with the 'caste-mark' in variously coloured pigments, a procedure followed by all orthodox Hindus, has its origin in the same impulse. Another and very prominent manifestation of the infantile level of Hindu thought and behaviour finds expression in certain aspects of their love-life which is almost entirely subordinated to the act of giving and receiving. This may indeed be partly accounted for by the fact that most marriages among Hindus are between immature and pre-genital boys and girls, hence a further factor in the custom of wooing through presents of money, jewels, etc. As Ernest Jones[2] observes, this type of wooing is only to be observed amongst Europeans who are relatively impotent or anaesthetic. The desire for marriage, i. e. to impregnate, which is contributed to by this complex is, among Hindus, a veritable passion. To a Hindu marriage is the most important and most engrossing event of his life; it is a subject of endless conversation and of the most prolonged preparations. An unmarried man is looked upon as having no social status. He is not usually consulted on any important point and no work of any consequence may be given to him. Women cannot under any circumstances take vows of celibacy. The marriage of girls before puberty and the prohibition to widows to remarry are doubtless both expressions of 'the pollution complex' which, as has been observed already, is the keystone of the Hindu hierarchy of ideas. The desire to manipulate the product further finds its commonest sublimation among mankind in industrial and artistic creations such as metal-moulding and sculpture. Both these occupations have

[1] Ernest Jones: op. cit.
[2] Idem: op. cit.

been pursued with passionate zeal by Hindus from very early times, and in their products whether in brass, bronze or stone, the impulse to manipulate has been carried to lengths hardly to be met with in similar creations of other nations. The impression that nearly all Hindu manipulative art, as opposed to pictorial, leaves on the mind of the European is one of oppressive confusion of ornament with an insensate distortion of the human figure which is nearly always represented in attitudes of violent contortion.

We have already dealt at some length with the varieties of reaction-formations built up by the Hindu against the material emitted or symbols thereof. In fact it is this aspect of the anal-erotic functioning of the mind that the Hindu transcends any other race or class of people in the whole history of the world.

Further, the Hindus display conspiciously a trait which is peculiar to persons in whom there exists this type of reaction-formation, namely, an astonishing indifference to their surroundings, to their furniture, clothes and so on. To the ordinary run of European, whose reaction-formations tend more towards a passion for cleanliness, hardly anything occasions more surprise in the character of the wealthy Hindu than his contentment with shabby, patched clothing, his rather mean household equipment, frequently in obvious need of repair or replacement. Such a saying as 'a stitch in time saves nine' is to a Hindu merely an impertinence!

In Hindu custom it would appear that we are confronted with the obverse of 'the theory of the pure man'[1] as exemplified in the insistence on the marriage of girls before puberty as well as in the horror they experience over the idea of a widow marrying again.

The exuberant manifestations of the flatus-complex which we meet at every turn in studying Hindu beliefs and practices has already been considered. We may therefore conclude our survey of the subject with a few general observations on the effect that these character-traits of the Hindus have on their past, present and future relations to the rest of mankind.

It is not unlikely that the strange antipathy that is felt for the Hindus by most, if indeed not all, the races of the world, is nothing more than an expression of an unconscious feeling of antagonism brought about by some of the peculiarities of the manifestations of anal erotism as met with among the Hindus. It is certainly a fact that wherever the Hindu may go, no matter

[1] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

whether it be in Asia, Africa or Europe, he is to the inhabitants of that country a veritable Dr. Fell. We must therefore assume that this obscure but nevertheless very real dislike which is shared by all races of mankind for the Hindu, must, from its very nature, have its roots in some deeply-buried source of feeling. Books on India teem with references to this singular 'otherness', if I may use the term, of the Hindu as compared, for instance, with the Muslim or Christian Indian, and a variety of reasons are cited to account for it. It is obviously absurd to appeal to the question of 'colour', for the colour of Hindus is the same as that of the Muslims and Christians of India. Moreover, many people who make this appeal, appear to overlook the fact that the black man of Africa feels quite as antipathetic to the Hindu as does the white man of Europe or America, or the yellow man of Burma, China or Japan. Another fact that is frequently forgotten by persons in discussing what is usually termed 'colour prejudice' in regard to the relations of Hindus to Europeans is that Hindus have always been very much more concerned with the question of colour than have Europeans. It was the early Hindus themselves who deliberately grounded all social distinctions upon *Varna,* colour, and dismissed all the dark-skinned aboriginal races of Southern India as *Rakshasas* or demons. Every Hindu admires a fair skin and longs for a fair-skinned wife to bring him fair children. Other persons have sought a solution to the question by assuming that the non-Hindu, whether he be European, African or Asiatic, dislikes the Hindu because of the jealousy he feels for the Hindu's intellectual gifts. Needless to say, this view of the question is held for the most part only by Hindus and that even they have some difficulty in holding such a belief finds ample evidence in the perfervid adulation of their own attainments in which they seem compelled to indulge from time to time. For instance, we find in a recent text-book published for the use of the Central Hindu College at Benares, such desperate expressions of an attempt to compensate a powerful 'insufficiency complex' as the following: 'No other religion has produced so many great men, great teachers, great writers, great sages, great saints, great kings, great warriors, great statesmen, great benefactors, great patriots, etc.'

From what is now known of the influence exerted on the formation of character and temperament by the two fundamental phases of anal erotism, that is to say, the impulse to 'keep back'

and the impulse to 'give out', it is by no means unlikely that herein lies the answer to the riddle as to the origin of many of those striking idiosyncrasies of the Hindu character which not only mark him off from the rest of mankind but leave him with a habit of mind that is antipathetic, if not actually repellent, to his fellow-men of other religious persuasion. Ernest Jones[1] has shewn how the end-product of the character of an individual will depend on the detailed interplay of the attitudes distinctive of each phase, and on the extent to which the individual may react to each by developing either a positive sublimation or a negative reaction-formation. Jones has also shewn that some of the most valuable qualities are derived from this complex, as well as some of the most disadvantageous. He cites as belonging to the first group, individualism, determination and persistence, love of order and power of organisation, competency, reliability and thoroughness, generosity, the bent toward art and good taste, the capacity for unusual tenderness, and the general ability to deal with concrete objects of the material world. In the second group he includes, the incapacity for happiness, irritability and bad temper, hypochondria, miserliness, meanness and pettiness, slow-mindedness and proneness to bore, the bent for tyrannising and dictating and obstinacy. A glance at the character traits summarised in the second group is sufficient for any one at all acquainted with the Hindu character and temperament to recognise that most, if not all, of them are eminently those of Hindus. To begin with, an incapacity for happiness is one of their most notorious peculiarities. There is nothing a Hindu fears more than life. The very essence of his life is fear—fear of the unknown result which may follow upon error, either in conduct, in faith or in ceremonial. Moreover, the bugbear of the Hindu is his belief in metempsychosis. An average Hindu sees very little to enjoy in life. Such a phrase as 'la joie de vivre' is to him nothing more nor less than a contradiction in terms. A Hindu who could say with Thoreau that he enjoyed his life to 'the core and rind' is unthinkable! As Meredith Townsend[2] remarks: 'The wish to be rid of consciousness either by annihilation or absorption in the Divine, is the strongest impulse he (the Hindu) can feel'. In this feeling probably lies the source of that detestation in which both Islam and Christianity are held by Hindus.

[1] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

[2] Meredith Townsend: Asia and Europe, p. 35.

A religion which preaches an 'everlasting consciousness' so far from affording him solace only tends to drive the Hindu into further depths of distraction.

Then as regards the character trait of irritability and short temper. It is a well-known characteristic of Hindu legendary asceticism that its votaries are insanely short-tempered and vindictive. Incalculable is the trouble wrought in legend by the maledictions of irascible *rishis*.[1] No one can deny that as a general rule the Hindus exhibit a disastrous propensity to quarrel, especially in the family circle, and to this trait is added, what is still worse, vindictiveness. Reference has already been made to the miserliness, meanness and pettiness of the Hindus, and as these traits are so well known there is no call to notice them further. That love of orderliness which we may observe as a conspicuous feature of Hindu religious ritual, is rarely met with in the guise of the power to organise, except perhaps in the pursuit of wealth. The tendency to dictate and to tyrannise is such a notorious trait of all Oriental character that it is not surprising to find it a prominent feature of Hindu character. Indeed one of the most odious manifestations of tyranny may be regarded as quite peculiar to the Hindus, and that is the tyranny of the higher castes, especially the Brahmans, over those of lower caste. Obstinacy is so typical a character trait of the Hindu that its various manifestations have been the theme for innumerable dissertations on the 'changeless East'. It was to this trait in the Hindu character that Matthew Arnold referred in his celebrated lines:

> The East bowed low before the blast,
> In patient deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then plunged in thought again.

It will appear that when we come to consider the question of the source of the antipathy that is felt by other races, especially the European and African, for the Hindu, from the standpoint of anal-erotic complexes, the answer to it is not very difficult to find, for we see how the anal erotism of the Hindu produces a congeries of character traits which are the very antithesis to those of Europeans, especially the English. The character traits of the English people

[1] William Archer: India and the Future, p. 205.

as a whole belong for the greater part to the first of the two groups distinguished by Ernest Jones.[1] For instance, the Englishman, as opposed to the Hindu, exhibits usually an extraordinary individualism as well as a frequently devastating persistence to carry through whatever he may believe to be 'right'. Likewise, the Englishman is prone to entertain pedantic notions about 'justice', while the Hindu, although he loves the law as a source of income, has very little liking for it as an instrument of government. He 'prefers a flexible and human will which can be turned by prayers, threats or conciliations in money'.[2] The average Englishman revels in attempts to get other people to accept his views on religion, morality and the like, but the Hindu's views on these matters are for private consumption only, or, at the most, for members of his family. While Englishmen will often display remarkable competency, reliability and thoroughness, Hindus will not, under any provocation, burden themselves with a sustained habit of taking trouble. As Meredith Townsend[3] observes: 'You might as well ask lazzaroni to behave like Prussian officials'. Like most Orientals, Hindus issue orders and punish terribly (or not at all!) if they are not obeyed. As to 'hunting the order down' to its execution, they would not accept life at the price of such a duty! Again, the English have learnt to make a fetish of 'sanitation'. An Englishman's bath-room, water-closet and laundry form a triad of reaction-formations of his anal erotism before which he will, so to speak, prostrate himself in a rhapsody of adoration. Among the Hindus, reaction-formations of the same type have led to the apotheosis of ceremonial purification, but hand-in-hand with this goes an indifference to living under conditions indescribably filthy, especially when the filth is associated with religious worship, a fact to which the holy places of Benares bear ample testimony. Lastly, and perhaps above all, the Englishman possesses a general ability to deal with the concrete objects of the world to an extent to which few other races can aspire. In his introduction to Nietzsche's 'Genealogy of Morals', Alexander Tille[4] writes as follows: 'A great English scholar whom years

[1] Ernest Jones: op. cit.

[2] Meredith Townsend: op. cit.

[3] Idem: op. cit.

[4] Friederich Nietzsche: A Genealogy of Morals. Translated by W. Haussmann and J. Gray. Introduction by Alexander Tille, p. xiii.

ago I asked to explain how at this time of day a philosophy so utterly absurd as that of Hegel was in full sway in English academic circles, whilst long ago it had died out at the German universities, told me that he did not wonder at it in the least. The English mind was so absolutely practical that for a philosophy it needed something absurd in the highest degree, because it would at once pull to pieces every reasonable philosophy offered'. The Hindu, on the other hand, has earned an enormous reputation for speculative metaphysics and transcendental idealism. In short, the type of mentality which we encounter among Hindus is in many ways typical of that of obsessional states, while their general level of thought partakes of the variety usually peculiar to children. Whether the Hindu mind is capable of any further approximination to reality is a matter which the future alone can show.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS IN THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE

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I

In the history of science it is not often that it falls to the lot of a single investigator to inaugurate an entirely new method of research or to discover a whole group of general laws, each valid, each equally fundamental.

Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, has done both: he has inaugurated the analytic method of inquiry which is being successfully applied to all the manifestations and products of mental activity; and through the careful use of this technique he has uncovered fundamental principles hitherto either wholly unrecognised or perceived but vaguely.

For the first time psychoanalysis introduces true order and understanding into some of the most obscure and baffling provinces of the mind—phobias, compulsions, obsessions and dreams.

For the first time, too, we are acquiring true insight into the meaning, the psychic development and mechanism of that most dreadful of all personal calamities, mental breakdown or insanity; and through the aid of psychoanalysis correct principles are being evolved for its prevention—in so far as mental disorder may be preventable.

Although psychoanalytic research is only in its initial stage, it has already thrown a flood of light on mental growth during infancy, childhood and adolescence; and the respective educational and hygienic requirements are becoming clear as the development of human personality is traced with scientific accuracy. The unfoldment of character traits is becoming a study as objective in its technique and results as any study of natural history. Human behaviour is being subjected to scientific scrutiny at last without the handicap of ego-centric presuppositions.

It would not be easy at this early stage properly to estimate the great practical benefits in terms of personal and racial welfare bound to follow the wider extension and applications of psychoanalysis and certain to be witnessed in the immediate future. In unravelling for us the natural history of mental growth and thus placing within our ken the means for its conscious direction and control, Freud's discoveries promise to accomplish, with respect to our knowledge of the subjective, inner world of our psyche, a transformation as radical as that which Newton's discovery of the laws governing the Cosmos has accomplished with respect to our knowledge of the world of external reality.

The same precision, of course, cannot be expected in the two fields of inquiry. The laws of mind are infinitely more complicated and do not lend themselves to mathematical treatment like the laws of nature. But in general aspects the comparison holds. The position of both, Newton and Freud, is alike unique in the history of science; for just as there is no other cosmic system for man to repeat Newton's discovery of its laws so there is but one subjective world for man to delve into and Freud has shown the way of discovering law and order therein.

The earliest significant observations were made by Freud in connection with his professional studies of persons suffering from various nervous complaints. These incidental observations have led him to most important discoveries. From the field of abnormal psychology in which they first arose, Freud and his pupils extended the important discoveries to the whole realm of psychology. Not psychology alone but all contiguous disciplines, anthropology, folklore, religion, economics, sociology, history, and even literary criticism, politics and biography, are becoming indebted to psychoanalysis.

The work is only at its beginnings, as mentioned, but significant contributions have already been made in some of these various directions. Already it is not premature to assert that psychoanalysis promises to accomplish for the whole group of the so-called *Geisteswissenschaften* (the cultural sciences, as contrasted to the exact disciplines) what the evolutionary theory—and specifically the work of Darwin—has done for the biological group of sciences. Indeed, in a broad sense, it may be said that psychoanalysis represents but an extension of the theory of evolution, an application of the principle of evolution to the study of mind or,

rather, a rediscovery of that truth in terms of concrete psychologic data, facts.

Scientific discoveries so wide in their range of applicability, so novel—even revolutionary—and of such tremendous consequence as those which form the major body of psychoanalytic theory, cannot but rouse extreme scepticism, even hostility—at first.

That is precisely the fate that psychoanalysis has met at the hands of critics too startled by the new principles to view them with objective detachment.

Psychoanalysis is nothing short of revolutionary, exactly as Darwinism has proven to be. That the introduction of conceptions compelling a rearrangement of fundamental principles should create havoc is only to be expected. Such a change foretells the doom of the old and customary viewpoints whose protagonists will not yield the ground without a struggle.

Now, psychoanalysis challenges the whole group of scientific disciplines in any way related to the operations of the mind. It requires all psychologic branches of learning to undertake nothing less than a restatement in terms of evolutionary dynamics of the principles upon which they are based. Freudian psychology has sounded the death-knell of static, descriptive, atomistic psychology just as surely as Darwinism has put an end to the pre-evolutionary biology.

The world at large cannot remain long indifferent to the Freudian transformations of psychology. This is not merely a matter concerning specialists. The controversy raised by psychoanalysis does not center on theoretic problems and abstract points such as are popularly supposed to be dear to the dry-as-dust scientist. The problems raised by psychoanalysis relate most intimately to the practical concerns of health and everyday living. If Freud be correct, if the unconscious, for instance, plays the rôle he assigns to it and if it is truly possible to get at it through the analysis of dreams and of the other formulations and products of the unconscious by means of the technique he has evolved, we have in our hands, for the first time in the history of science, a scientific method for controlling our psychic energies and for properly directing their outward flow. Through psychoanalysis, at last, mental health, efficiency, education of mind and body, human welfare generally—racial as well as personal—become subject to purposive direction and control, exactly as the forces of nature are today in the engineer's hands.

The prospect is not over-drawn. Psychoanalysis clearly holds out no less a promise than this.

Not the least merit of Freud is that he has at last linked in a practical, rigorously scientific manner our so-called 'normal' mental activities with those considered 'abnormal', and has proven the essential unity of mental functions.

That mental disorders are the result of the psychic forces governing the normal reactions of mind has long been accepted as a truism—in the abstract. But in the practical working out of the subject, in our text-books on psychiatry, for example, this essential truth played no part. It was practically disregarded—abstract theory and practice did not conform to each other in this instance, for the simple reason that there had been found no way of utilising the truth; no method of interpreting the disordered mind through a knowledge of what is going on in the healthy mind and vice versa.

To assert the essential unity of mental functions as a truth flowing out of theoretic considerations is one thing; to prove, as well as make fruitful use of, this important fact, is quite an other.

This bridging over of normal and abnormal, the rediscovery of the essential unity or oneness of mind, has been accomplished by Freud.

The links that connect normal and abnormal mind are furnished by the functions of the unconscious. The notion of the unconscious, of course, is not in itself a novel contribution of psychoanalysis. Indeed, as a mere hypothesis the unconscious is as old as, and perhaps antedates, the formulation even of our earliest scientific conceptions in psychology. But Freud gave the principle its present scientific and precise formulation. Above all he has evolved the technique for the empiric investigation of the unconscious—a technique that enables us to deal with the facts and forces of mind as objectively as with any other facts and forces in nature.

The concept of the unconscious had been rejected from modern scientific psychology because of its metaphysical and highly speculative character. But with the adoption of Freud's rigorous, practical method of inquiry the principle of the unconscious has become the core of psychology.

It is in this connection that Freud has evolved the study and analysis of dreams. The results are overwhelming; they yield a new sense of order and permit our understanding to reach down to the nethermost depths of human nature.

II

The significance of psychoanalysis in the history of science may be best illustrated perhaps by pointing out the background, the historic setting of Freud's invaluable contributions.

The dominant conception in all the biologic sciences, during the period immediately preceding Darwin's epoch-making discoveries and before Darwinism made itself felt, may be designated as atomism.

The age of atomism in biology was preceded by, and to a large extent cotemporaneous with, atomism in politics, philosophy, theology and education; for in every age the dominant idea spreads itself over the whole realm of its characteristic culture.

Political atomism culminated in the French Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence.

The sense theory of knowledge carried to its logical extreme by Hume with his denial of causality and true selfhood, by Leibniz with his theory of monads, and by Kant's teacher, Wolff, with his so-called Rational Psychology, illustrates the philosophical atomism of the period.

Theological atomism manifested itself in the crude theism of that period separating a kind of atomic divinity from the aggregate of units called the Universe, and representing that unit as standing in a sort of preferential relationship to the other atoms —an off-shoot, clearly, of the Leibniz-Wolffian doctrine.

Educational atomism blossomed forth in the theories of Rousseau, notably his 'Émile'.

Finally upon the sociologic-economic field we have, towards the end of the atomistic period, the materialistic conception of history culminating in the doctrine of the struggle between classes, a little earlier the *laissez-faire* doctrine and between the middle and the end of that period, again, the formulation of the philosophical anarchism of Godwin and Proudhon. Thus the various cultural movements manifested the same or a similar dominant note—individualism, atomism.

Closely upon the heels of this atomistic *Weltanschauung,* there followed the conception of energy. Indeed, the doctrine of energy was inherent in the standpoint of atomism. Just as atomism attempted to show us the constitution, 'energeticism' was to explain the dynamics of the universe and of human existence. Then followed

in rapid succession the discoveries of new energies in nature, the harnessing of electricity, steam, and other labor-saving forces, the multiplication of means for creating power, the rise of large cities, of international trade combinations and of corporations for the exploitation of natural resources on a tremendous scale—all in keeping with the new cultural development.

At that stage Darwin introduced the concept of unfoldment, of scientific evolution. It became the fashion of scientific endeavor to explain what a thing really is by showing how it came to be, that is, by giving its developmental history.

In the history of psychology 'associationism' represents the atomistic phase of the science of mind. The pre-Freudian conception of psychic dynamism is a sort of metaphysical, philosophic, speculative energeticism. Though rooted in physiology and often expressed in terms current in biology, it is at bottom but little more than the psychology of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Dugald Stewart, Thomas Reid, Adam Smith, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Alexander Bain—to mention only some of the chieftains of British speculative psychology.

Even the psychology of Herbert Spencer does not typify the true evolutionistic development. In his day the data were not yet available for the adoption of evolution as a *working principle* in psychology; but to Spencer belongs the credit of having anticipated with many keen generalizations, though speculatively, the next phase in the development of the science of mind.

At any rate the adoption of the evolutionistic or developmental concept in biology and the rapid spread of that viewpoint to contiguous sciences represents the next great general phase in the history of culture. Even disciplines of speculative character, philosophy, sociology, ethics, adopted the new viewpoint. But clinical psychology remained strangely aloof, and experimental psychology lagged behind. The 'energeticism' of Herbart and Lotze, fruitful and significant as they have been, remain a secondary development. No working basis had been devised for the adoption of evolution as a guiding principle in the practical concerns of psychology. The main course of development in the study of mind during health and disease alike persisted on the old path of atomism. The doctrine of the association of ideas and the more recent doctrine of the 'conditional reflex' are typical of the standpoint of non-Freudian psychology to this day in spite of the

influence of the principle of evolution upon the course of scientific development.

In that state psychology and clinical psychiatry were not likely to yield significant results along other than descriptive lines. Kraepelin, the high light of psychiatry, arranged his text-book with the conscientious scruples of one who appreciates the scientific value of classification and description. His clinical entities are divided, classified and subdivided, tabulated and labelled with much care. Progress between succeeding editions of Kraepelin's text-book on Psychiatry consists largely of the introduction of some new subdivision or in the transfer from one label to another of a part of its contents.

The tendency of clinical psychology and psychiatry in its atomistic stage to emphasize description and classification, as illustrated in Kraepelin, is equally obvious in the French school of clinical psychologic research. The Raymond-Janet contributions are masterly descriptions of psychologic states. Janet's works, in particular, read like romances. His studies of hysteria, neuroses, fixed ideas and psychic automatisms have inspired Professor William James to hold out the expectation, in his 'Principles of Psychology', that, 'all these facts, taken together, form unquestionably the beginning of an inquiry which is destined to throw a new light into the very abysses of our nature'.

The new light came as the result of Freud's important discoveries. To the two-dimensional, atomistic, descriptive psychology of the French school and of the Kraepelinian psychiatry Freud has added a third dimension—the genetic, developmental, evolutionistic viewpoint. The result is as radical a transformation of all branches of psychology as that which Darwin has inaugurated in the biological sciences. Freud's discoveries are doing for psychology what Darwin's have done for biology.

III

The method of Freud is known as psychoanalysis. It recognizes a selective property whereby ideas group and regroup themselves in accordance with laws governing their emotional value to the person concerned. Freud's psychology lays stress on the emotional, affective value of our ideas rather than on their logical content:

that feature constitutes one of the chief differences between it and the older psychology.

Even in that regard Freud's work is not altogether novel. The most radical departure is the serviceable, accurate conception of the qualities and forces of our psyche which he has formulated as the result of his recognition of the unconscious.

An illustration will make this matter clear. Suppose a person has undergone a strong emotional experience—a sudden shock, fright, some keen disappointment or painful loss. The reaction to that experience will vary with the person's temperament, mental status, and other conditions. Suppose the person in question is highly nervous and the shock results in some degree of dissociation, that is, in a loss from memory of certain parts of the experience. This is a most frequent occurrence. In such cases, too, it is common for some unreasonable and unaccountable fear to appear, the fear being associated with some object or situation harmless in itself. For instance, the person in question may be afraid of closed doors, or of open spaces, or of crowds or of being alone, or of some animal or person. The victim cannot account for this fear; cannot even tell when it began or why it appeared. The fear may be partly overcome in the course of years. But the chances are rather that it will persist and that, all through his future life that person will go about more or less handicapped by that unreasonable fear. I have chosen this example because it is a very common experience and in its milder form may be found in every person's experience.

If the victim of such a condition is helped to reestablish a free intercommunication of his ideas by regular periods of concentration upon the disturbing situation or idea or object which happens to become associated with his unreasonable fear, it will soon be evident that there is an intimate connection between the object of his fear and the unpleasant experience which became lost from ordinary consciousness. Through concentration of the mind around the disturbing object, thought, or image, and allowing all ideas which crop up in that connection to come to the surface (aided thereby by the counsel of the consulting psychologist), the afflicted person finds that the ideas evoked, at first scattered and coming as if by chance from nowhere in particular, point gradually and at last irresistibly to the particular event which, because of its painful or unpleasant character, had become excluded from consciousness. Following the ramification of the ideas as they crop

up, it is soon found that a number of other experiences, entirely forgotten, many of them dating from early childhood, have become associatively linked to the painful occurrence or incident and have fortified the fear or other unreasonable symptom with their own emotional strength. While this is going on another strange thing happens. As the painfully unpleasant, apparently forgotten memories are brought to the surface and the emotions with which they were originally associated are recalled, the fear which was the object of investigation disappears either suddenly or more or less rapidly. The reawakening of painful reminiscences, apparently lost from memory, dissolves the unreasonable and apparently meaningless fear. The connection between the painful incident and the later fear is thus disclosed.

But what is the nature of that relationship? The two are linked through a common emotion or complementary affect. Where the condition is not entirely relieved by the recall of certain painful reminiscences, further inquiry leads to the unearthing of additional occurrences which had become similarly excluded from ordinary consciousness and have added their emotional strength to the unpleasant existing state. This teaches us that when painful experiences are pushed out of memory, they are really only pushed further in; they disappear from conscious memory but only to lie dormant and to influence the subject unconsciously, throwing up emotional bubbles in most unexpected ways. No matter how deeply this ingrown emotion may lie buried it does not wholly get out of reach. Following up the free association of ideas, especially those which arise around the subject's dreams, the submerged memory is brought back, element by element.

One of the most remarkable features of repressed emotions is that they belong in large part to our childhood life. Even when the events to which they pertain belong to a later period the reaction they evoke is characteristic of our childish or infantile attitude towards life and does not belong to the age at which it appears. In other words certain infantile emotional reactions persist in the unconscious and become the center of psychic shocks or injuries.

Previous to Freud's discovery of these important facts clinical psychology, as I have pointed out already, was concerned chiefly with description and classification. In the case mentioned it would have limited itself to inquire: what is the person most afraid of?

Closed doors? That is claustrophobia. Open spaces? That is agoraphobia, and so forth. Freud found that these fears have specific meanings in every instance. That 'open spaces' and 'closed door', for instance, have particular meanings for the persons concerned on account of which they play the rôle they do in certain instances; that their rôle is always determined by what they stand for in the subject's own mind—perhaps a meaning acquired in connection with some actual experience, forgotten, or rather repressed, or a fanciful meaning derived symbolically.

In other words, our fears, morbid dreads, doubts, feelings of incapacity and numerous other emotional handicaps have an inner, or subjective developmental history; their course must be traced back to the earliest episodes in connection with which they have arisen, before we can expect to be completely freed of them.

Now, childhood has been compared to the primitive state of mankind. Conversely, savage society is said to represent the childhood of the race. This much was surmised here and there even during the pre-evolutionistic phase of science.

Since Darwin, the comparison between childhood and primitive mankind as representative of the same developmental stages has achieved new significance. Darwinism has led to the theoretic assumption that in our physical as well as mental development we recapitulate the biologic history of the race. Herbert Spencer has popularised this idea. It has led to the formulation of the so-called recapitulation theory—an idea which has been worked out extensively in embryology where it is associated chiefly with the researches of Ernst Haeckel. Readers will recall the interesting series of embryologic sections which were circulated years ago, showing that during the various stages of its development the human foetus resembles in form and functional arrangement one after another various animal species from the lower to the higher.

The recapitulation theory maintains that during the embryonic stage every individual repeats, in abbreviated form of course, many of the important stages through which the human race has passed in its ascent from the lower and more primitive forms. Countless centuries of unfoldment are thus condensed and recapitulated in the brief course of our intra-uterine existence. Beginning as an unicellular organism, a protozoon in all respects, the fertilised human ovum becomes a metazoon, assumes shapes and forms re-

sembling one after another various organisms from the simpler to the more complex and at birth still resembles man's immediate anthropoid pregenitor more than the human race.

This is not the place to mention the numerous limitations and strictures that have been placed upon this ingenious theory as originally worked out by Haeckel and his enthusiastic pupils. It is true that some phases of intra-uterine existence appear to correspond to a higher phyletic branch than the immediately following ones, as if in repeating the story of the biologic unfoldment of the human race, the embryo rushed ahead a period or two and returned to the omitted sections subsequently, exactly as one often does when telling an interesting story. This and other minor considerations in no way detract from the significance of the theory as a whole any more than rushing from one crucial point to another in the telling of a story and then returning to dwell on details, makes the story untrue. The facts are sufficient in their essentials to prove the recapitulation theory is sound.

IV

Now, turning our attention to the individual mind, may not that, too, similarly recapitulate in the course of its growth the psychic unfoldment of the human race? That our mind does that very thing has long been a theoretic conclusion of biological investigators.

Unfortunately, psychologists had discovered no way to lift that capital idea from the realm of hypothesis and transmute it into a working, useful, practical principle. Neither the technique of ordinary laboratory psychology nor that of clinical psychiatry was such as to enable students of mind to make use of this fundamental truth in their work. Both psychology and psychiatry remained as before Darwin, atomistic, loosely dynamistic, descriptive. Whole textbooks on psychology have been written without the term 'development' becoming once necessary in the description of mental processes. At this stage in the history of science that in itself should have warned the old school psychologists and psychiatrists that something was the matter with the technique of their disciplines.

Freud did not set out deliberately to cover the gap between atomism and evolutionism. His ambition was limited to the direct and practical task of finding out what was wrong in the case of that large number of functional nervous disorders which ordinary methods of therapy, including hypnosis and suggestion, failed to cure. His task was a practical one, his attitude that of a specialist in nervous diseases interested in the welfare of his patients.

When Freud found that his patients suffered from painful reminiscences, hidden or suppressed, he set to work to discover the forces which lead to suppression. He found that the reminiscences in question were linked emotionally to promptings incompatible with ethical standards, and violating the most common dictates of culture—here I use the terms 'ethical' and 'culture' in their broadest meaning. Persons mentally handicapped, those who undergo 'nervous' breakdowns or who give way entirely, becoming subjects for sanitoria, are burdened with 'unethical' and 'irrational' cravings of which they are often unaware. Mental and nervous disorders are caused by an attempt of the primitive residue of the psyche to break through. This proposition is as simple as it is fundamental to the proper understanding of the forces which govern human nature. Freud found that ordinarily we are often prompted by bits of our racial past in the form of an obscure craving, an unorganized attitude, a blind predisposition impelling us to think or do things which consciousness would refuse openly to contemplate. He found further that manifestations of this primitive, raw, unmoral attitude together with the cravings to which it gives rise, far from being exceptional, is the rule during the earlier phases of our mental existence; namely, during the preconscious stage of infancy and early childhood.

Incidentally Freud's discovery shows that in the course of its development the individual mind repeats our racial history. The details of Freud's work amount to a restatement of the recapitulation theory applied to the biologic history of the mind. For the first time there has been disclosed to us the manner in which psychic recapitulation operates and its consequences.

Primordial cravings that persist are racial vestiges of the mind. They are racial endowments belonging to early psychic stages in our individual development just as certain structures and organs of the embryo represent passing phases in the course of our physical development. Some embryonic organs disappear when higher

stages are reached; but certain other organs and structures persist in rudimentary form long after their functions have ceased. But, unlike the embryonic organs which disappear after fulfilling whatever rôle they may play during the embryonic phase of our physical existence, unlike the rudimentary structures which are carried forward but lie dormant and useless in the adult, the mental vestiges of our earlier existence, our primordial cravings, our racial instincts persist in their raw and naked form alongside the more complex, subtle emotions, ideals and aspirations which we acquire in later life as the heritage of historic civilization. Our raw instincts not only persist but so long as they are allowed to remain 'uncharted' within us they compete with consciousness for mastery over our conduct.

Man's unconscious, the bearer of the racial past, the instinctive and primordial in human nature, functions long before consciousness is awakened. Its beginnings cannot be traced. It seems to be always present. It reaches far beyond any stage in our individual development which can be subjected to direct investigation. All we know is that during intra-uterine existence the foetus already shows reactions which must have a psychic counterpart, be it ever so vague. Certain it is that our mental life does not begin with consciousness; and consequently any psychology that concerns itself with consciousness to the total exclusion of the unconscious is neglecting the greater for the lesser part of our mental existence. The unconscious has back of it a biologic history of millions of years compared to which the phyletic period of man's consciousness is like the efflorescence of an hour. A proper knowledge of the unconscious will enable us the better to penetrate the mental processes of primitive folk and to reconstruct, as it were, the kind of world in which man's ancestors moved, lived and had their being. Finally we can understand neither the mental aspects of childhood and infancy nor the true requirements of education unless we appreciate the significance, extent, operation and consequences of our unconscious mental processes.

Sleep is a state during which it is possible for the unconscious within us to find a sort of vicarious expression. Dreams are largely the expression of the unconscious, hence the significance of the meaning of dreams; hence the fundamental importance of Freud's discovery of the technique and methodology for the interpretation of dreams.

V

For the first time since Darwin announced his discoveries, an important corollary of the theory of evolution—recapitulation—is thus proven to hold good of the psyche. It happens that the ontogenetic account of the mind is of greatest practical significance because in no other field is an appreciation of the workings of recapitulation so important. Thus it is interesting to know that the appendix, for instance, is a vestigial organ representing a phase of existence during which man's dietary habits were what we call today 'vegetarian'. It is interesting to know that certain sets of muscles around our ears prove that at one stage in his long past man had the ability to move his ears in all directions with the agility displayed to-day by animals depending for safety upon acute hearing more than man does. Such remnants are tell-tale signs of man's previous history, as much as the findings exhibited in our museums of natural history. They testify as to man's past habits and ways of living. But when the appendix becomes inflamed it is no longer a matter of 'museum interest' for the person concerned. And if all the vestigial, embryonic organs and structures were to persist and flare up into activity, a difficult and serious situation would arise.

That is precisely what often happens upon the mental sphere. Phases of our past, in the widest sense of the term, tend to perpetuate themselves 'in their original image', as it were.

An occasional strong flaring up and more commonly, a continuous functional persistance of the mental equipment characteristic of our early stages of existence is the rule rather than the exception. This is precisely what makes an understanding of the processes of psychic recapitulation a matter of such capital importance in the study of human behavior.

In spite of the refinements of civilization, in spite of the influence of education, religion, precept or preachment, our mental equipment still persists in its primordial forms. Eventually most of the cravings of the human race, our raw instincts, undergo transformations and refinements. But for a long time these cravings continue to manifest themselves very much 'in the raw'. We recognize this fact when we remark that 'the child is a savage' or that 'youth is callous and cruelly selfish'. As youth passes into manhood and womanhood respectively it learns to abide by the more

refined manifestations of the instincts which make up life. But the instincts are never abandoned. They are only refined. Moreover they persist and occasionally flare up in their 'original image'.

The recapitulation theory, so interesting in other fields of biology, becomes here of the utmost *practical* significance.

It will be understood, of course, that the idea of recapitulation had been conceived as a principle of mental development and somewhat exploited long before Freud. Various attempts, some of them more ingenious than convincing, had been made to trace correspondences between the behavior of children and the life of primitive people on the supposition that children and so-called savages stand psychically close to each other.

We have long been familiar with such expressions as 'the childhood of the human race' and by many comparisons we have been led to infer what is implied. The propensity of children for climbing, for instance, has been described as a vestigial tendency harking back, as it were, to the arboreal habits of man's ancestors. Children's games, peculiar choices, curious likes and dislikes, and many of their imageries have been similarly related. But all such observations were conjectural. Proof was lacking.

Freud has stumbled upon the proof; and what is more, he has had the sagacity to recognise the importance of his discovery for science. He has disclosed the rôle of ontogenetic recapitulation in the growth and interplay of our psychic forces.

For the first time in the history of psychology we now have the key to the understanding of human behavior in the light of its biological history.

The technique which Freud has evolved largely in the connection with the analysis of dreams for sounding, investigating and charting the realm of man's unconscious is one of the most important contributions in the history of science. The practical benefits of this discovery have only begun to be realised. Psychology is but beginning to redeem the promise it had long held out of becoming a practical guide in the conduct of our everyday life.

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ANAL-EROTIC CHARACTER TRAITS IN SHYLOCK

by

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Shakespeare's character of Shylock, the central figure of 'The Merchant of Venice', has been one of the male characters in the marvellous gamut of the Shakespearean drama whose essential traits have evoked varying interpretations, thus placing it in the same category with Hamlet, Lear, and Macbeth. Whether or not he was a blood-thirsty villain or a man more sinned against than sinning, or whether he showed character traits which were to be expected in one of his race and tradition, are subjects over which the controversy of Shakespearean criticism has raged. It has been the fashion to compare the character of Shylock with that of Barrabas in Marlowe's 'Jew of Malta'. This parallel however, is incorrect in its general essentials, for Barrabas carried his long suppressed hate to the point of sadistic lust murders, a trait which is entirely absent in Shylock; for Shylock's wishes at no time during their development had any of the horrors of the revenge of Barrabas.

The sources of the plot of 'The Merchant of Venice' and of the character of Shylock have been traced to old ballads, such as the song of Gernutus, Italian romances (Il Pecorone), Persian and Indian legends, the 'Jew of Malta' and finally an old German comedy. Thus there were many analogies in European and Oriental literature to the two intertwined stories which may be termed the pound of flesh theme and three caskets theme, which constitute the main plot of the 'Merchant of Venice'. It appears that Shylock was made a Jew to appeal to the popular prejudice of the time. As Elze states[1] 'His (Shakespeare's) public wished above all things to see Shylock crushed' and it may be added that Shakespeare completely fulfilled the wishes of that public.

Most of the critical interpretations of Shylock's character have insisted on the essential Jewish traits. For instance Hudson states that Shylock is 'thoroughly and intensely Jewish, with strong

[1] Karl Elze: Essays, 1874.

national traits interwoven with personal traits'. Brandes in his fine criticism regards Shylock from the same standpoint: 'Shakespeare has seized upon and reproduced racial characteristics and emphasized what is peculiarly Jewish in Shylock's culture'.

It is impossible to agree with these interpretations, for when Shylock's character traits are examined according to psychoanalytic conceptions, it will be found that they are not specifically Jewish, but universal, and that the same traits may exist in all men and women. Analysis of Shylock's character is able to show, first, that it is not particularly Jewish and secondly, that his love for money and his hate and revenge spring from the same unconscious sources, in other words they are merely the outward projections[1] of strong anal-erotic tendencies. These anal-erotic impulses are the same in all men and as a result of racial repression any individual may show an outburst of the same strong characteristics as Shylock and react as he has done. These character traits have been precipitated into the unconscious of all mankind from the experience of previous generations and it is only the moral code of culture and civilization which keeps them suppressed. Under proper conditions these egoistic and anal-erotic components emerge and dominate the personality and thus become manifest either as an instinct for the possession of money or a stubborn wish for revenge.

A few of the Shakespearean critics have possessed sufficient insight into Shylock's character to refer to the anal-erotic components in a vague manner, but without, however, clearly understanding them. Giles[2] for instance cites the feeling of power and omnipotence in Shylock and states: 'His energy is restricted to one mode of power, the power of money. To have potency he must have money'. Heine, with his remarkable insight, clearly saw the ambivalent[1] tendencies of Shylock's character, the love of money and revenge and the love for his daughter. He states: 'Shylock does indeed love money, but there are things which he loves still more, among them his daughter ("Jessica, my girl") Although he curses her in his rage and would see her dead at his feet with the jewels in her ears and the ducats in her coffin, he loves her more than ducats or jewels'.

[1] [These two words are here used in a sense peculiar to the author, not in their usually accepted sense. Ed.]

[2] Human Life in Shakespeare, 1868.

In referring to Judaism, Weininger[1] specifies that it is 'neither a race nor a people nor a recognized creed. I think of it as a tendency of mind, as a psychological constitution which is a possibility for all mankind'. This statement is of interest in any psychoanalysis of Shylock, for it furnishes an insight into those traits which have constantly been referred to as being peculiar to the Jew in general and to Shylock in particular. As all men are capable of homosexual object selection and often accomplish this in their unconscious mental life, so all have the same anal-erotic components which to a certain degree are so conspicuous in Shylock.

The unconscious mind is so remote from the conscious mind, that Freud's astonishing demonstration in 1908 of what he termed the anal-erotic character traits has provoked the most intense opposition and incredulity. These traits of adult life and their dependence on infantile sexual excitations in the anal canal have been criticized as absurd and grotesque, yet anyone who carefully worked in psychoanalysis is soon absolutely convinced of the soundness and validity of Freud's ideas.

Without going into the mechanism and genesis of these traits, it seems sufficient merely to enumerate them for the purpose in view, namely the analysis of the various aspects of Shylock's character. These features when they occur in a highly developed anal-erotic individual are orderliness, parsimony, miserliness and obstinacy, to which may be added love of money, hate, revenge, love of children, defiant disobedience and procrastination. Nearly all these will be found well defined in the character of Shylock if the development of the play and the text are carefully studied.

Shylock is portrayed as a wealthy Jew of Venice in whom the love of money, as shown by his often reiterated reference to his 'ducats', is a distinguishing trait. With the love of his money, Shakespeare with a remarkable insight emphasizes the tenderness for his daughter Jessica, as a sort of unconscious identity of the two most valuable possessions of his life—his daughter and his ducats. As Jones points out: 'One of the most impressive traits in the whole gamut of the anal character is the extraordinary and quite exquisite tenderness that some members of the type are capable of, especially with children; this is no doubt strengthened both by the association with innocence and purity . . .

[1] Otto Weininger: Sex and Character, p. 303.

and by the reaction-formation against the repressed sadism that so commonly goes with marked anal erotism'.[1] This is well shown in the speech of Salanio where the elopement of Shylock's daughter Jessica is described:

My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter! (II, viii).

That Shylock is a miser, that he collects, gathers and hoards money and gives none or very little out, even in the management of his own household, is demonstrated in the speech of Launcelot Gobbo, the servant of Shylock, where he states: 'I am famished in his service, you may tell every finger I have with my ribs' (II, ii). Shylock is a miser because money means power to him and, as Ferenczi states,[2] 'The adult's symbolic interest in money gets extended not only to objects with similar physical attributes, but to all sorts of things that in any way signify value or possession... The enjoyment at possessing it has its deepest and amplest source in coprophilia'.

Studies in anal erotism have demonstrated that whenever archaic methods of thought prevail, such as the neuroses, dreams superstition and unconscious thinking, money has been brought into the closest connection with filth and scatological rites. This superstition is shown in the fairy tale of the goose which laid the golden eggs and in many legends, poems and linguistic expressions. Ferenczi has also emphasized the transition from the infantile idea of excrement to the apparently remote symbol of money.[3]

For instance, in the analysis of a compulsion neurotic with strong anal-erotic traits and superstitions the following dream occurred: He was paying the man in coin for commission on some goods and the man gave the money to a horse to eat and then the dreamer recovered the money from the manure of the horse and stuffed it into a big sausage for safe keeping have a dream which coincides with the superstition of bringing Here we the discovery of treasure into association with the act o

[1] Ernest Jones: 'Anal-Erotic Character Traits', Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 2nd. ed. 1918, p. 682.

[2] S. Ferenczi: 'The Ontogenesis of Interest in Money', Contributions to Psycho-Analysis, 1916, Chap. XIII.

[3] Loc. cit.

defaecation. Now the profound significance of Shylock's words to Jessica becomes clear:

Shylock. I am bid forth to supper, Jessica:
There are my keys. But wherefore should I go?
I am not bid for love; they flatter me:
But yet I'll go in hate, to feed upon
The prodigal Christian. Jessica, my girl,
Look to my house. I am right loath to go:
There is some ill a-brewing towards my rest,
For I did dream of money-bags to-night. (II, v)

Here we have an exquisite combination of the precipitation of strongly repressed anal-erotic traits into the unconscious, producing the dream of 'money bags' the superstitious interpretation of the dream, the hate of Shylock and the love and tenderness for his daughter. In addition, the scatological symbolism of 'money-bags' in the dream is very apparent to workers in psychoanalysis. This relationship with the usual Elizabethan freedom of coprophilic expression is also seen in the last words of Shylock's warning to Jessica.

Fast bind, fast find,
A proverb never stale in thrifty mind. (II, v)

Shylock's sadism as shown in his literal demand for the pound of flesh is already found foreshadowed in his 'aside', when he first meets Antonio, the 'aside' I take it, as in all dramas, being a sort of a day-dream.

If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him. (I, iii)

and the later words:

Cursed be my tribe,
If I forgive him! (I, iii)

This sadistic hate is further emphasized in the following dialogue:

Salarino. Why, I am sure, if he forfeit, thou wilt not take his flesh; what 's that good for?

Shylock. To bait fish withal, if it will feed nothing else, it will feed my revenge. (III, i)

This is what Brandes probably meant when he said, in speaking of the character of Shylock 'Money is nothing to him in comparison with revenge. His hatred for Antonio is far more intense than his love for his jewels and it is the passionate hatred, not avarice, that makes him the monster he becomes'.

As Ernest Jones[1] has pointed out, an observation which was subsequently confirmed by Freud, there is a strong unconscious psychological connection between hate and anal erotism. This connection is seen to an extreme degree in Shylock. From this hate there arises the sadism of Shylock with its pleasure in the anticipation of inflicting pain on the hated person as a form of defiance. This character trait of sadistic hate is developed to its fullest extent in the trial scene, where Shylock is preparing to have the due and forfeit of his bond.

Bassanio. Why dost thou whet thy knife so earnestly?

Shylock. To cut the forfeiture from that bankrupt there. (IV, i)

Here in this wonderful scene, the hate of Shylock, the pleasure in the anticipation of inflicting pain and seeing others suffer, is strongly over-emphasized and becomes stronger than the love for money.

Bassanio. For thy three thousand ducats here is six.
Shylock. If every ducat in six thousand ducats
Were in six parts and every part a ducat,
I would not draw them; I would have my bond. (IV, i)

Thus is portrayed with astonishing accuracy another anal-erotic trait, the idea or feeling of power, showing the deep connection between power and anal erotism or between force and possession, the sadistic and the anal-erotic impulses. For until the legal quibble of the distinguished Portia, Shylock's feeling of power over an

[1] Ernest Jones: 'Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neuroses'. Papers on Psycho-Analysis, 2nd. Edition. 1918.

unfortunate fellowman and the pleasure which this power brings is reinforced by the admission of the Duke that Shylock's demand, cruel and blood-thirsty as it may seem, is a just one and within the law.

The conclusion to be drawn from this short analysis of Shylock's character is that all men in whom there are highly developed anal-erotic character traits, particularly those referring to money, power, hate, would have reacted, under the same circumstances of social repression, in much the same way that Shylock reacted. We may assume, therefore, from the data as revealed by the distinguishing traits of anal erotism, that Shylock's character was not of a particular racial type, but that such character traits can be found in all individuals where these traits are so little repressed and so highly developed as profoundly to modify their relations to their fellow men. The same unconscious impulses and motivations under the same conditions which reacted on Shylock would be able to produce identical tendencies to power and revenge.

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PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND PSYCHIATRY[1]

by

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THE INVESTIGATOR AND HIS METHODS

The application of psycho-analysis to the psychoses has not led to an effective therapy like its use in the transference neuroses and more recently the war neuroses. The pathological explanation of the psychoses, however, has undergone radical alterations through Freud's concepts, just as was the case with chemistry as a result of Dalton's and Lavoisier's work. The aim of any discussion of the issues relative to this subject must be to ascertain the reasons why the outcome of this new psychopathology has been a new therapy for the 'neuroses', and not one for the 'mental diseases', and also to suggest possible improvements. In this paper we shall be concerned with these improvements only in so far as they relate to the investigator and his methods.

Psychiatrist and analyst are dissimilar in their nature, their subject of investigation, their hopes and their methods. Both have the same mass of symptoms for their material, but the difference lies in their conception of it.

As contrasted with the analyst, the psychiatrist suffers from certain definite psychic scotomata. The subject of his investigation is the conscious, the brain as its hypothetical correlate, and the body in general.

The analyst is characterised by the removal of the scotomata, so far as we recognise them. His sphere of investigation is extended to the unconscious; he puts the libido and the ego impulses as hypothetical correlates behind the phenomena.

The primary medical aim—to establish the diagnosis—has a different significance in psychiatry from that which it has elsewhere. It is usual in medicine to allocate the case, according to its dia-

[1] Translated by Douglas Bryan.

gnosis, to a group of cases with a definite aetiology or a definite anatomical basis, or with a definite prognosis and where possible a definite therapy. In psychiatry this rule applies only to the infective diseases and grosser lesions of the brain, which comprise a relatively small percentage of the cases. In by far the greater number of cases the diagnosis gives no indication of the causes, no anatomy or useful prognosis (fifty per cent of errors in one of the best clinics), and no therapy. The therapeutic measures in vogue are based more on sympathy than science and the results are nothing to be proud of. Under these circumstances the relation of psycho-analysis to psychiatry seems to be summed up in the statement that its relation to psychiatry is the same as to any other psychic formation of doubtful utility; psycho-analysis has to interpret the formation and endeavour to remove it in order to replace it by something useful. If we were to adopt this view, however, we should commit a triple injustice.

First, we should underestimate the results that psychiatry has to show, not as regards the understanding of the psychoses but in sundry matters of secondary importance. It may even be admitted that the finer anatomy and physiology of the central nervous system, of the sense organs and endocrine glands, is building a very promising foundation; and a bridge can be carried from this foundation to Freud's theories if the building is not prematurely wrecked on the same obstacle at which clinical psychiatry has made a halt and turned aside, namely, sexuality.

These methods of study, however, are not psychiatry, but its auxiliary sciences, which in other respects are independent and fully adequate in themselves. Psychiatry can signify nothing other than the science of the medical treatment of the mind.

A second and historically important fact, which we must not overlook, is that psychiatry has not always proceeded in such a helpless and fluctuating manner as in the last thirty or forty years. It had been on the best road to discover the fixation of the libido as the cause of the failure of adaptation. The word hysteria—which formerly comprised all kinds of cases that now are included in other psychotic types—bears witness to this. The oldest theories asserted that the wanderings of the uterus throughout the body were the cause of hysteria. When Galen proved that these wanderings were impossible, the blame was attributed to retention of semen or blood in the uterus, since the humours could

decompose and the enlarged uterus would be damaged by poisonous products or by pressure. This was modified later to the view that conditions of irritation of the genitals could pass over to the nervous system. Romberg (1851)[1] endeavoured to reconcile with each other the alternative conceptions of hysteria as a disease of the uterus or of the brain, conceptions in which he considered the theories of hysteria known at that time culminated. He maintained that hysteria was a reflex neurosis caused by genital irritation. He made the important observation, 'that it is not necessary for a sensation to become conscious to produce reflex action . . .' According to Jolly (1877)[2] sexual abstinence and over-stimulation are important causes of illness. After this the subject of sex disappeared more and more from psychiatry. Griesinger, Meynert and the large number of brain anatomists, as well as the Salpêtrière School, became the authorities on the subject. Since Charcot, Pitres, Janet, and Raymond, hysteria has been considered a psychosis, as previously a great part of the psychoses were considered hysteria. The difference is that the latter view meant something, namely, the sexual origin of the psychoses, whereas the former view is only an expression of our infantile hope to discover somewhere in the brain chaste reasons for the indecent actions of hysterics. Psycho-analysis appears as the normal continuation of the general line of development, of which the pre-Freudian psychiatry, since Charcot and Griesinger, constitutes simply an interruption, an incident, the temporary hypertrophy of a newly discovered principle, an incident, however, which has meant delay and stoppage in the discovery of the psychic nature of hysteria, because progress on this path urgently required the investigation of the psychic sexuality of the normal person. Here was the barrier which the investigators avoided and which also turned from its course the investigation of the brain.

Freud, as we know, has broken through this barrier like a battering-ram, and has thus secured the progress of psychiatry.

Thirdly, we must not blind ourselves to the fact that the psycho-analytical doctrine also affords its subjective gratification. Nobody can bear to turn exclusively to objects. And if Freud has taught us to look at facts, and facts only, he has also taken the lead in recognising the co-operation of the pleasure-principle even in his

[1] M. H. Romberg: Lehrbuch der Nervenkrankheiten, 1851, II, S. 209 ff.

[2] F. Jolly: Hysterie und Hypochondrie in v. Ziemssen Handbuch, 2. Auflage, 1877.

own scientific work.[1] Just where science appears gratifying to our mind we are to mistrust its results, if we wish to obey the law of necessity—the reality-principle.

Science was faced with the problem of admitting the existence of mental diseases as an unpleasant fact. Since it was not at the time in the position to cure mental diseases, i. e. to change reality itself so that it became endurable, science had to add to reality sufficient intellectual gratification to serve as a support for the impulse to investigate mental diseases (a compensation that is found in every kind of science, including psycho-analysis), or else to exclude so much from reality that at least the *idea* of reality thus created became endurable. This was the path taken by the pre-Freudian psychiatry. It allowed the investigator to regard the mental diseases without too great discomfort and without having to relinquish the over-estimation of his own ego. But it crippled itself at the same time as far as its real purpose was concerned. It had to replace the excluded part of reality—in this object, as chance would have it, the principal part—by matters of secondary importance. And where it would not wish to give up its particular object, the mental disease, it had to fill up the existing paucity of thoughts with foreign words, authors' names, literary references, repetitions, and considerations loaded with the *virtus dormitiva.* Thus in an extreme development of this nature it conveys the impression of glossolalia.

Freud, on the other hand preferred to forego a piece of narcissism from the start and thereby obtained the increase of the object libido which he used for breaking through the obstruction. In psycho-analytical literature the following are found as external signs of this essentially different standpoint: the absence of inflation with references to the literature, etc., the absence of the taboo of one's own language, the working with the nuclei of concepts instead of limits of concepts, and with a fluid instead of a fixed system of working theories, the absence of 'replies to the preceding reply', the replacement of the antithesis, 'either-or by 'and-and'.

Medical psycho-analysis thus appears as the psychiatry of a group of observers who have all, following the lead of a single individual, made mobile a part of their own narcissistic portion of libido. The remaining fixations can be broken up after this keystone has

[1] See also Hegel, Nietzsche, Bolland, etc.

been moved. We, as followers, found this procedure easier, because we were able to allow the attraction of the newly discovered fields for scientific thought to influence us. We must remember, however, that the narcissism is always ready to creep up again. This possibility threatens most easily from the side of morals, religion, and scientific and philosophical systems.

While the rest of the psychiatrists awaited the further elaboration of psychiatry chiefly through the improvement of instruments and their methods of use, Freud recognised that in the first instance the investigator should be improved and adapted to his task. He demands that the investigator should have analysed himself or been analysed before he undertakes the study and treatment of patients. This procedure is indispensable and not to be substituted by anything, not even by the profound study of psychoanalytical literature. He who adopts this course gains a widening of his mental field of vision that henceforth becomes his most valuable instrument. Problems that were previously hidden in impenetrable darkness become illuminated as by the sunrise.

The field of the psychoses is not, as is imagined, the most difficult, but the easiest field of psychology to work upon. Palaeopsychic layers that otherwise lie deeply buried and can only be reached after laborious mining are exposed to view in the psychoses. Those things which are betrayed in the life of the healthy person and the neurotic only through indications, the real value of which can only be recognised through the microscope of psychoanalysis, are visible to all, in caricature-like enlargement, in the mental patient. The only need is eyes that can see and ears that can hear. But the investigator can neither hear nor see because he does not wish to see or hear, because the repressions of the normal person prevent it.

Science always serves two different purposes, which the poet has symbolised clearly and briefly as the milch-cow and the goddess. The first of these is a social and above all a material purpose. The investigator's task is to bring a further portion of the external world that has been created by the mind by means of the sense organs of distance (hearing, sight, smell) into the reach of the sense organs of proximity (feeling, taste), and to get the useful part ready for incorporation. For this object, which is more of service to society than to the investigator, it is necessary for the latter to sacrifice a part of his own personal happiness.

The second purpose is, on the other hand, subordinated only to the pleasure-principle. It concerns the upholding by magic thoughts, words and gestures of ethical, aesthetic and logical illusions concerning the ego and the external world. Here science encounters the competition of art and religion. The high gratification which science is also able to afford is only born when it, like art and religion, uses the everyday case for the representation of the sublime. It is just at this moment that it misses its other material-social purpose. The investigator, however, then receives his reward.

Society is not uniformly agreed as to the second purpose. So far as society is able to experience in itself the happiness of the investigator, this aim of science is also to be called social; otherwise society is soon ready to disqualify him under any available excuse.

The orientation of psycho-analysis to these two purposes is different from that of the rest of psychiatry. The essential difference is a displacement in the direction of the reality-principle.[1] I have already enumerated the external symptoms of this. The two following characteristics which result from removal of the repression in the technique of research have a more intimate connection with this difference. Firstly, the tendency to return from the type to the isolated fact, in contrast to clinical psychiatry which exhausts itself in creating types. Secondly, the capacity of enduring unanswered questions and unsolved problems, in contrast to the compulsion in the non-analytical psychiatry to solve and to finish with problems, even if the solution be only illusory (e. g. the histology of the psychoses). In the endeavour to surrender this illusion of power we again recognise the same capacity to endure pain (*Unlust*) and delay gratification which we strive for in the patient by means of the treatment. It is true that the attainment of the original purpose is also delayed in the investigation of the brain, but a substitute is soon found and mastery obtained over this substitute, whereby the material-social purpose falls into the background, while the happiness of the investigator becomes correspondingly more pure.

The sacrifice that the investigator makes to society by psycho-analysis is twofold. The first has already been discussed. It concerns the limitation of the high gratification of the pure desire for

[1] See Binswanger's article in the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse,* Bd. VII, S. 137.

world-creating knowledge, for this is the happiness of the investigator. He must not surrender himself to the intoxication of creation, but as soon as possible get ready for further advance. The edifice of hypotheses and the world illusion that arises from it are to serve as working theories and not for aesthetic enjoyment. Self-criticism compels us to recognise that there is still much improvement needed in this direction. The writer at least knows how far he is removed from complying with his own claims.

The second is a more secondary one. It concerns the overcoming of the counter-transference. The old (laboratory) psychiatry solves this counter-transference according to the mechanism of the obsessional neurosis; it either keeps out of the way of the patient or approaches him only through the intervention of a host of apparatus of all kinds, which besides their alleged practical significance have also symbolic meanings that make them suited to give the repressed and suppressed tendencies a discharge by something resembling a short circuit, which means useless waste of energy during the work. The analyst renounces this gratification; he endeavours to direct the forces, which finally drive him also to the work, as directly as possible to the cultural aim, that of education.

Reading psycho-analytical literature also demands extra work. In the usual psychiatry only the assimilation of the new material is of moment. In psycho-analysis we have in addition to consider the change necessary for the understanding of one's own psyche, namely, the mobilisation of fixed quantities. This absolute need for the overcoming of resistances is in all probability the reason for the remark often heard that psycho-analytic works are of such bad style, vague or unintelligible. In view of all these sacrifices the question may be asked, how is it that anyone ever becomes an analyst? The answer must be that necessity, the most powerful factor of civilisation, has furnished the motive.

The principal demand for the psychiatric investigation of the mental patient was to establish, to register, and to measure by every means all the phenomena and spontaneous expressions of the mental patient, and further to initiate methodical investigations in which both stimulus and effect are strictly determined (Sommer).

This technique becomes sterile through the fact that the investigator does not know his 'personal errors', and therefore cannot take into account the deviations arising from them. The

observation of sexuality, genital as well as infantile auto-erotic, is radically destroyed by these psychical scotomata, and where observation and registration of sexual factors still take place it is left out of account in working up the materials.

The following example shows how these scotomata hinder the anamnesis. This sexual anamnesis of a male schizophrenic (four reactions negative), aged thirty-five, was obtained by an experienced lunacy and nerve specialist.

15. Was the sexual impulse strong or perverse? How did it express itself?

Answer: As usual.

25. What was the nature of your mode of life? (Excesses in love or wine, mental or bodily stress.)

Answer: No excesses. Four years ago the patient had joined a woman abroad, having been previously disillusioned by being in love with a respectable girl who had refused his offer of marriage.

The analyst was able to obtain the following 'additions' by simple questioning.

Excessive masturbation in his youth and recently, once to five times a night. He made his first attempt at coitus on his sister who was about two years his senior when he was fourteen years old. This attempt his sister confirmed. From the age of seventeen onwards he had regular intercourse with prostitutes, gonorrhaea six times, and a lengthy treatment for dilatation of a stricture. Eight years ago he had an ulcer of the penis for which he was treated by injections and drugs for four or five years. Nine years ago he had relations with an actress. He was twice engaged and each time broke it off after a short while. He became depressed after the marriage of his sister.

There was no question of suggestion here, as shown by the confirmation of the incest.

In the methodical registration of stimulus and effect, the facts which show that the stimulus is also of significance for the impulses of the patient are just as methodically ignored. Whether the investigator is a man or a woman, whether he is old or young, whether he has known the patient for some time or not, in a word this whole mass of impulse which as transference and counter-transference psycho-analysis makes the object of the investigation, is lacking in psychiatrical case descriptions. There is

only one means of getting round this defect, namely, psycho-analysis. Its use in the investigation of mental patients requires in the first instance its previous use upon the investigator. Then, having regard to the child-like nature of the patient, the material has to be collected mostly in the same way as Dr. von Hug-Hellmuth has suggested for child analysis, namely, in play [1] and conversation. As it is more difficult to obtain a useful positive transference in these patients, the relation has to become something more real than in the analysis of the transference neuroses. The rule must be adhered to that only the minimum of discharge shall be permitted. It suffices to study the effect of commands and prohibitions prescribed by the situation, and the effect of small gifts.

In society a good mutual relationship is only made possible through positive mutual transference: relics of the unconscious idea to stand to others in the relation of father or mother (brother, sister, husband) and the necessary feelings of love, are absorbed in the social relationships. This unconscious constellation is, as we know, used in the treatment in order to be transferred on society in a more highly organised form via the analyst, and in order to re-establish the patient's *rapport* with society. The analyst avoids a stoppage of the process at the intermediate station, his own person, by carrying out the analysis of the transference in stages. Through the limitation of the material relation the transference becomes continually over-charged and accessible to analysis.

This method however fails in institutional patients. Most of them have a rather hostile attitude from the beginning. They see in the doctor a jailer (the worst of it is that the conditions force him to be really such), and in order to obtain a beginning of contact he has to make use of the expedient of favouritism or gifts; he thereby creates at the same time a degree of actual relationship which he would like to avoid. Here the claims of the institutional doctor and the analyst diverge. The former accepts the father-rôle, readily seeks the real relation, and tries to profit by it in order to bring the patient to the highest possible degree of obedience and dependence, and to lead him along this path to work and social utility. The analyst meets with resistances in the analysis that are unconquerable, because the patient has it

[1] The 'association experiment' belongs here. It has no special advantages over other occupations in common.

in his power every time to enforce active intervention on the part of the doctor by incorrect conduct, and because some quantities which have been temporarily freed from their fixations flow off directly as short-circuits.

I have, on the other hand, occasionally tried to safeguard myself against this by transferring the management of the discipline and all active intervention to the head nurse, but I found that she now received the bulk of the transference which should have helped my analysis.

Each case has to be decided on its merits. Preceding or intercurrent physical examination has proved advantageous in some cases, but in the majority unusually hindering.

Finally one has to take into account that the temporary symptom formation can assume a very crude form. A schizophrenic to whom I had proved that he was in love with one of his female relatives, rewarded me by a sudden blow with his fist that left a depressed spot as a lasting remembrance. Another schizophrenic who had confessed a secret to me immediately attacked me and then turned upon himself with the result that he wounded himself in the wrist with a window-pane that he had struck. Later he so far recovered that he was able to take up his difficult occupation.

Of course such sudden acts of violence occur also in consequence of trifling motives outside analytic investigation, they are not to be ascribed to the analysis, but to the low stage of organisation of the patient's motility, though an analytic talk, like any other, can cause the excitation. This possibility compels us to be more careful with communications to the patient, and to take care of ourselves. Dangerous patients I place in a corner behind a heavy table, or I use the hours when he is in a cold bandage.

I am not so pessimistic as most people regarding the possibility of a therapy for the insane in institutions, a therapy which, if not true analysis, is nevertheless carried out according to the theses gained from analysis. The improvements seen after moving the patient to another location should make us think. There are many possibilities in the direction of Ferenczi's 'active psycho-analytic technique', and in the direction of combination with the cathartic procedure, which still lie within our scotoma owing to our personal imperfections. If, as is likely, schizophrenia finds an organic basis in the loss of equilibrium between the germ and puberty glands, we can point out that both are interpolated in the whole chain of

the sympathetic paths, and are accessible to psychic influence. The chief aim is the study of the aetiology and with it of prophylaxis.

The success already attained by Freud also shows us the method that will play the principle part in the later development of psychiatry. The psychiatrist will have to renounce a further portion of his narcissism.

We have arrived at the conviction that important sources of error as regards the results lie in the person of the investigator. In astronomy it has long been known that the personal error has to be taken into account in the observation. Besides, it is known how the utility of working theories has previously suffered from the fact that the earth was considered the centre of the universe, and how the sacrifice of this over-valuation led at once to a great advance of science, even though at first it suffered from strong and active opposition on the part of the ruling powers.

What was possible for astronomy has also to serve for psychiatry. We also have to learn to sacrifice that part of our self-overestimation which places in the centre and considers unassailable *our* truth, *our* religion, *our* standard of civilisation. We have to give up the narcissistic and infantile idea that development is the path to greater 'purposiveness' of action. Every action is purposive for our one purpose, that of the libido, and without purpose for our other purpose, that of the ego impulses, or vice versa, or for both. In human development is to be seen perhaps only the one guiding line—that of the progressive retardation of the discharge, i. e. prolongation of life. Biologically considered this certainly is not always an advantage for the species, and if carried out unchecked the principle, which paralyses the elasticity of the species, could just as well destroy it as it has destroyed other great species.

The psycho-analytical continuation of psychiatry will have to free itself from the arrogance that lies hidden in the word 'sublimation'. This word has been invented by a philosopher, and is better replaced by 'domestication', or 'taming'. Where possible these judgements as to value must be avoided. In the end nobody can do this, but they can be postponed—and in the meantime analysed—to the point where the doctor steps in, i. e. the therapy, or the prophylaxis. It is then found that the points of attack and the direction of this help are quite different from those of the present psychiatry, which leaves its aims wholly to the rest of

society. The psycho-analytic psychiatry which has developed from the Freudian 'behaviour'-psychology of the human being has further aims. It should not be forgotten that it has a double task. When the analyst teaches the individual to limit his libidinous expressions to what is allowed by society, and to lead the infantile fixed libido again to civilised aims, and educates him to endure mental privation, he has then a second more comprehensive duty towards society, which, although dictated by the same healing endeavour, leads in an opposite direction. He must reconcile society with the libido, with death, in short with the unconscious.

This then will be the last and practically important consequence of the difference between the psychiatrist and analyst. The old-style psychiatrist is a servant of the censorship, an instrument of society, he treats the 'out-casts'. The analyst, who has here and there to some slight extent pushed aside the barrier of the censorship in himself, should use society itself as an instrument for social progress, he must serve society without reference to the censorship.

The reality-principle protects against dangers of a direct kind which threaten from without, the pleasure-principle against the inner danger of overloading and against remoter biological dangers. To the neurotic the disadvantages of the pleasure-principle are made clear, to society the disadvantages of a too exclusive homage to the reality-principle must be brought forward. The normal being, of whom we know least of all, must be discovered and if necessary cured.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN NEUROSES AND PSYCHOSES[1]

I

THE UNCONSCIOUS CRITERION

In Grimm's fairy tale of the white snake the servant tastes a small portion from the king's secret dish, which contains a white snake, and then all of a sudden he can understand the language of birds.

[1] Including material presented in a paper read before the Sixth International Psycho-Analytical Congress, The Hague, September, 1920.

This simile characterises the revolution which Freud's teaching has brought into the life of the psychiatrist who ventures to taste the forbidden dish. The patient's gesticulations, his phantastic delusions and confused nonsense, become full of meaning, and he becomes again a human being among human beings. He is no longer considered, as previously and even to-day by a number of scientific physicians of institutions, a more or less worthless appendage to his brain, his death being waited for with scarcely repressed impatience; and not till dead, dissected in the laboratory, does he become the object of an aesthetic cult of the dead. In other words, Freud has made possible a useful counter-transference to the failure or repression of which is due the retarded development of psychiatry.

We have therefore arrived at a point which belongs to my paper—namely, the problem of the relations between neuroses and psychoses. The neurosis itself absorbs the interest of the physician in the patient; the transference of the patient to the physician increases this interest and helps to get over the advancing hostile transferences. In mental patients transferences to the physician are not lacking; their unpleasant, gross and hostile expressions are too well known, they are transferences of an infantile or a negative libido (hate transferences). The transference mania of hysterics corresponds to the delusions of persecution in the psychoses, the latter being the negative-libidinal analogue of the former.[1] Negativism also is a kind of transference mania of negative libido.

The first aim is to fix the criteria of the concepts 'neurosis' and 'psychosis', and this is by no means easy. It has happened in foro that the psychiatric expert, asked what actually constituted a mental patient, has answered that he did not know. Therefore we will consider the different criteria given by the laity (whose opinion is here authoritative and also is expressed in legislation), by psychiatry, and finally by psycho-analysis. Here we shall have to make two digressions, one of which takes for its subject the nosological position of civilisation as an entire phenomenon, the other keeps in view the development of motor inhibition.

Difficulties arise from the fact that the psychotic person like

[1] Freud: 'Zur Dynamik der Übertragung', *Zentralbl. f. Psa.*, Bd. II, S. 168 ff.: 'Where the capability of transference has become essentially negative, as in paranoia, the possibility of influence and cure ceases.'

the neurotic only seeks advice on his own initiative in exceptional cases. The concept of psychosis is only conceivable in a society; an isolated individual, Robinson Crusoe for instance, could have a neurosis, but not a psychosis, because a psychosis can only exist in relation to a society regarded as normal. Its criteria are:

1. Social troublesomeness, harmfulness, or failure of co-operation, in as far as their motives are unintelligible to society. When they are intelligible then the deviating individual is regarded as an offender or criminal if he is defeated. If he knows how to carry himself through, then he is regarded as a hero or great man.

2. Inability to appreciate the feelings of others. The relativity of this criterion is evident; so we have the constantly repeated conflicts as to whether this or that symptom stamps a person as a mental case.

3. Failure of relation to reality. I need only allude to the persecutions which science has suffered at the hands of religion in order to demonstrate the subjective character of this criterion. Whoever does not feel convinced of this might consider how psycho-analysts are reproached by their opponents with failure of relation to reality, and that it finally depends solely on the numerical superiority of the one or other party whether society considers the opponents as unfortunately left behind, or Freud's pupils as a paranoiac sect.

4. Lack of insight into the illness, or defence of his position on the part of the patient by means of projection. As concerns logical response the mental patient is inaccessible. We trace this peculiarity to reinforced narcissism. The number of 'normal' people who lack any insight into the morbid nature of their peculiarities, for example, alcoholics, is very great, yet they are not considered mental cases; not to speak of religious and philosophical convictions, the adherents of which mutually reproach one another with the same charges.[1]

Failure of co-operation is also found in neurotics and many normal parasitic natures, and so our first mentioned criterion is incomplete. Obviously a certain degree of capacity for positive transference and intellectual performances can cause society to

[1] See also Dresslar's questionnaire referred to by Ernest Jones in the *Zentralbl. f. Psa.*, Bd. II. Dresslar found 7176 descriptions of different superstitions in 875 American students; in 3225 cases there was belief in the truth of the superstition.

disregard failure which otherwise would be considered complete. The example of the intelligent paranoiac on the one hand, and that of the lazy, superstitious and dishonest war-profiteer on the other shows how little this criterion gratifies logical feelings.

We might expect that besides the conscious criteria one or more unconscious criteria exist, and that these will be decisive. Behind those various ways in which the mentally diseased are openly recognised as constituting a danger to society there lies another unmentioned one. We find indications of it in the attitude with which the public regards the insane person; this attitude contains a certain horror and at the same time an equally ill-founded sympathy. The normal person has a feeling of uncanniness as regards the mental patient. The patient's incapability for normal conversation disturbs the belief in the power of spoken words, and his apparent incapability of being influenced and his incurability disturb the belief in one's own omnipotence. The belief in the magic power of the spoken word and the belief in the power over other human beings and nature in general rest on narcissism. The normal person protects his narcissism, and probably in a certain respect quite rightly, since physical health partly depends upon it. This unconscious narcissism is severely affected by association with mental patients.

The repressions of the normal person are endangered in yet another way. In the wards of the troublesome mental patients one is literally on a visit to the unconscious. Here the uncanny forces of the deep can be denied no longer, they show themselves openly like the glowing fire of a volcano, and call up in the visitor their deep and distant rumblings.

Society considers as mad him who threatens to reveal to men its unconscious, and knows no other means of defence against such revelation than to isolate the madman.

This fifth criterion is the most important and compared with it the remainder appear as pretexts.

II

THE NORMAL AND THE ABNORMAL

The criteria which psychiatry gives for mental disease will not detain us long: there are none. On the other hand, the boundaries

between the normal and abnormal are precisely stated. But as soon as the question is put: How much abnormal performance must there be in order to constitute mental disease? the answer is awaited in vain. When the psychiatrist has to express an opinion on this matter he manifestly acts just like a layman with a general education. Here and there attempts are made to answer this question on principle, but they are either too indefinite, for example: (dans les psycho-névroses) '... les symptomes psychiques sont plus développés que dans les névroses simples ou partielles, mais ils y sont moins accentués et moins constants que dans les vésanies; le délire, notamment, n'y est qu'un épisode accidentel et transitoire alors qu'il est de règle dans les vésanies' (Raymond);[1] or they appeal in the last resort to the above criticised lay criteria of failure in adaptation to society, or of unintelligibility as regards logic: '... in consequence of their condition they are unable to guide themselves or preserve or respect the rights of others' (Forel); '... in consequence of their condition other persons are needed for their care and protection, or they cause annoyance, injury and danger to other individuals or to the public' (Erlenmeyer).

It can be seen that these definitions are made according to society, the rights of which are considered unassailable in contrast to those of individuals. Forel's definition would include the majority of normal people.

There is no 'medico-technical' diagnosis of 'mental disease'.

Psychiatry has good grounds for the fact that it will not define the boundary sharply and according to scientific laws, otherwise it would be inevitable that phenomena which have to be accounted as normal—like religion, superstition, amourousness, or even the normal feeling of 'reality'—would place it in an awkward position.

Legislation makes it just as bad. In general it lays down that 'raving', 'mad', or 'weak-minded' persons, who through their illness are either robbed wholly of the use of their reason, or at least incapacitated from perceiving the results of their actions, must be put under restraint, and regarded as not or only partly accountable or responsible for their actions: '.... failure of the capacity to act reasonably' (Switzerland, Z. G. B., par. 16.); 'A state

[1] Névroses et psycho-névroses. Traité international de Psychologie pathologique (A. Marie), Alcan, Paris, 1911.

of morbid disturbance of mental activity excluding the free determination of the will, so far as this state according to its nature is not temporary'. (Germany, B. G. B., par. 104.); 'The concept of mental disturbance has a special significance for every sphere of law. Here it concerns something so specific that the same individual can be a mental case in the meaning of one law and not one in the meaning of another law' (E. Schultze in Aschaffenburg, Handbuch der Psychiatrie).

The juridical definition of the concept of mental disease ('Failure of free determination of will', 'Failure of the necessary insight') has led a legal psychiatrist (O. Bumke in Aschaffenburg, Handbuch der Psychiatrie) to allude expressly to the lack of scientific method underlying psychological concepts: 'Under circumstances the expert has to emphasise in opposition to this that this insight can exist, yet the capacity for employment—perhaps through disturbances of the mental qualities or qualities of the will—can have disappeared'.

While the absolute dependency of the concept of mental disease on the tolerance of society is wholly unconscious in the juridical definition of the concept, it begins to emerge in the psychiatric formulations.

Psycho-analysis can only continue this order of development. It has to accept the existence of the lay concept of mental disease and trace it back to its unconscious origin, which we found in the menace to cultural repression by the mentally affected person in consequence of his inadequate capacity for untruth and dissimulation or repression and domestication. Psycho-analysis traces back these incapabilities to definite consequences of instinctive forces. It also shows that these consequences are found in numerous occurrences of normal life which are not looked upon as 'mental', because, as experience has shown, they only last a short time and admit of a definitely favourable prognosis (like the slips of everyday life), or—and this is valid for similar types of longer duration—because they occur in so many individuals that the average human being has been able to establish his repressions particularly firmly in this respect, and that he is always opposed to them and therefore no longer shocked by them (idealism).

There is also a difference in the disposition. A regressive formation which affects simultaneously a *number* of individuals standing in social relationship to one another will easily find a social outlet

(sects, war, sleep). On the other hand, the regressive *solitary* type of individual is suppressed at once by society (as far as he does not know how to use society for his own purpose!). If it breaks through regardless of this resistance, then this proves a stronger energy of the regressive or progressive occurrence, a condition which psycho-analysis traces back to early acquired fixations in definite stages (different for each syndrome) of development of the impulses. Psycho-analysis, in considering this quantitative difference, interests itself in the analogous phenomena exhibited by normal people. The mental life of the normal person is a symphony of single performances of the various stages of development. Some of the stages, like sleep, are extremely deep regressions, surpassing the severest psychoses in depth and, strange to say, often absent in these latter.

III

METAPHRENIA

Since there exists a state of conflict between mental patients and society it behoves science to subject society to an investigation in order to facilitate an impartial study.

What is this society that we find as the co-ordinating axis when we attempt to arrive at the concept of 'mental disease'? Here the matter is obviously different from the neuroses. There we found as object of comparison the picture of the ideal normal human being composed of the various ideal aspects of reality. An ideal society has not yet been created, on the contrary all are agreed that much of society is valueless. Many thinkers—I need only mention Carpenter and Ruskin—were not afraid to compare present-day civilisation with a disease. Actually at the present time it is easy to hold this opinion. The civilisation of the white race is a morbid one.

The gains won by civilisation are of course very important: —an improved defence against enemies from other realms of nature, and a more intensive utilisation of the natural sources of life, these together leading to a considerable extension of the duration of life. Many people, however, will not look upon material advantages as the most important gain, but upon the feelings of security and superiority which permit the civilised human being

to be himself so proud and independent in comparison with nature—an attitude which in primitive people was possible only to kings and magicians. Others, on the contrary, will perceive the most important gains in the sacrifice of the individual for the whole, the feeling of fellowship, and the self-control which civilisation demands, or will call special attention to the lofty superiority of the civilised religions. I acknowledge all these qualities, but should like to allude to a few on the darker side.

First of all I may point to the unequal distribution of the material advantages of civilisation. It is not the possession of this or that quantity of goods that makes a person fortunate, but the fact that there are but few of his wishes that cannot be gratified. Modern intercourse, in dangling before the eyes of the poor all kinds of riches, creates more requirements than can be gratified; the tradesman even thinks it is his duty 'to create requirements'. That is to say, he makes an occupation by making human beings dissatisfied.

Secondly, as contrasting with the security of modern life I may point to wars and class warfare, which, it is true, do not occur incidentally in the course of everyday existence, but which, nevertheless, occur with the same regularity as the manic phases of a periodic psychosis, or the attacks of an epileptic. Wars belong to society, as the other manifestations belong to disease.

Too little consideration is given to the fact that in the ethical advantages of civilised society the social elements are by no means composed exclusively of 'sublimated' erotic impulses. Civilised society consists rather of a nucleus working for the whole—a nucleus which is indeed actually held together by love, and of a great number of individuals whose interest in society is the interest of the beast of prey for its spoil. The latter group depends on cultural control and exercises this control for its purpose; its cultural progress makes the ethical advantages of civilisation illusory.

Finally, I believe that the loss even as regards cultural values which the civilisation of to-day brings with it is not estimated at its true extent. It seems to me that logic cannot increase with, but only at the expense of ethics and aesthetics. While among primitive peoples every woman can make a pretty ornament or vessel herself, in civilised lands the artist is only a freak of nature. In lands where industrial civilisation has progressed farthest there

are no artists at all. This statement, so simple in itself, signifies in reality such an enormous loss that this alone should be sufficient to prevent one being enthusiastically in love with the alleged advances of civilisation. It seems to me that a lengthening of the duration of life is of little value if at the same time the content of life is diminished.

The unequal development of the sexes compels the woman to sublimate more than she can sustain on the average, because the man, seduced by covetousness, so splits and wastes his libido in social life, or is forced to keep it infantile through care about the daily bread, that he is no longer sufficiently capable of love. Civilised education compels the two sexes to divert so much libido into phantasy and life of thought that the capacity for real gratification is lost to a great extent, and it punishes at the same time its all too obedient victims by an increased tendency to psychoneuroses. While on the one hand the woman is compelled to turn a great part of her libido towards the young child on account of little gratification received from the man, on the other hand society takes over education from the parents much earlier and thereby deprives the mother of the love object which she needed the more. The children seldom remain with their parents to the end of their education, on account of the strongly developed social life. The children become more spoiled through their limited number, have greater craving for affection, and are then torn from their parents by society at an age when they are allowed to express the greater craving only in a highly domesticated manner. The morbid nature of this civilisation also follows from the fact that a people, or a part of a people, who have succumbed to it regularly diminish numerically.

The concept 'disease' is only conceivable in connection with the concept 'health'; therefore it is obligatory for me to indicate what is a 'healthy' civilisation. I consider it permissible in the scope of this work to content myself provisionally with the thesis that a healthy society should be that in which the happiness of individuals is not pressed down below a certain minimum through care about the existence of the species; and I leave open the possibility that an ideally 'healthy' civilisation is probably excluded altogether through the existence of certain impulses in the white races. The solution of the problem has to be left to economics, in connection with which, however, psycho-analysis has to give

the advice that in the solutions up to the present a morbid path has been followed which is perceptible in a psycho-neurosis of individuals, still better in its fatality. The solutions so far have failed on account of the underestimation of the claims of the unconscious and the libido. A compromise is made between the two demands of culture in the 'white' civilisation of to-day. The individual happiness, as mentioned above, is considerably limited by the precepts of civilisation.

The existence of the species is only secured by the fact that civilisation is not held in equal estimation as regards the whole of society, but is only proved in certain spheres and social classes while the increase of population originates from the less civilised or uncivilised spheres (Dulosis). As soon as a people strives to raise itself in toto to a certain stage of civilisation it diminishes numerically. Civilisation seems then to be a disease which is imposed on a certain portion of society in order to obtain a certain extra gain whereby all profit. Economically the motive of existence falls to the ground as soon as the extra gain becomes too small, as is now the case in the eyes of many people.

This does not interest us psychologically, but it presents a striking agreement with the psycho-neuroses, the existence of which often likewise depends on a certain 'secondary gain of illness', because a tendency[1] sifts from the many momentary psychic states of various stages those who provide this gain and gives it a longer duration—as 'neuroses', etc.—if the condition of the disposition is also fulfilled. We are further interested psychologically in the investigation of the details of the phenomena of civilisation which permits insertion in our present comparison of 'neurotic' phenomena. We keep in view the distinction between the *social* secondary gain of illness in civilisation and the *individual* secondary gain of illness in the neurosis, and emphasise that this is the only distinction, so that civilisation passes over completely into illness as soon as the gain becomes too individual. Civilisation considered from the individual point of view belongs to neurotic phenomena.

I think one can go further and attempt a more precise diagnosis of this civilisation-disease by the insight obtained from psychoanalytical experience. But I must keep strictly to the scope of my subject.

[1] Or several, egoistic and libidinal, tendencies.

I concur with Freud's opinion given in 1908.[1] Freud states that besides the necessity of life there are family feelings derived from erotism which have induced the individual to suppress his impulse for the advantage of society. In all probability it can be added that the prohibitions proceeding from the father participated in this process of suppression, and that these prohibitions more easily succeeded in diverting the love from the mother, because the primitive work which was available as a substitute for the original activity of the libido was capable of receiving great quantities of libido. It is perhaps in this outline superfluous to allude to the fact that the present industrial work no longer exhibits this characteristic. The higher organisations of the libido are taken away from the work in a great measure, and placed at the disposal of religion and the neuroses. The result of this is a damming of libido, since the libido, as Freud has clearly shown, is more and more banished from civilised love-life and has to be satisfied only with phantasy and pleasure.

In consequence of this increasing insufficiency of the work the paternal prohibition (and command) has to be used more and more for social purposes, and society is kept intact only through prohibitions, and the more so the longer these prohibitions are utilised.

The correlated excessive fear of death (arising from the situation, depicted by Freud, of the death of the father) supplies the motive for the equally extreme development of *hygiene,* which keeps the civilised human being in an invisible glass cage, and of *cleanliness* which assumes the dimensions of a phobia.

A far-going inhibition of hostile object-erotic factors directed upon the members of the family becomes necessary in society, factors which in times of peace are finally discharged in work and pleasure. Thereby both work and pleasure have the character of aggressive activity (this character belongs both to primitive and civilised society).

The anal-erotic factors, expelled alike from the fields of love and work by hygiene and cleanliness, find a substitute in the desire to acquire products, in the last resort time and money, those two symbols of faeces (this characteristic being confined to civilised societies).

[1] Sigm. Freud: 'Die kulturelle Sexualmoral und die moderne Nervosität', *Sexualprobleme,* 1908, 4. Also in Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, Zweite Folge, 1909, S. 175.

The obsessional neurotic character of civilisation results from this compulsive striving and these aggressive tendencies.

I shall not give further analogies which exist even on superficial comparison between civilisation and obsessional neuroses,[1] but only mention that the return of repressed material is not lacking.

To those who are not able to pass through the whole of this development the result seems to furnish relatively gratifying syntheses. But the pleasure always requires an ever increasing amount of time, since the libido is now excluded from work and love is prohibited for reasons of hygiene, it has to find its gratification in the period of recreation.

Moreover the solution becomes unsatisfactory as far as it is only attainable for a minority, and even for this minority does not prove to be a firm basis.

The striving for time and money, by the class satisfied thereby, depreciates the work of the rest of the community, while the altered social relationships are opposed to a development of the family life which should be able to receive the libido quantities which flow back from the work. Hence diminution of work, fatigue, etc. after a time endangers life just as much as the original situation of pleasure, rest and danger to life.

Freud has warned us against regarding the life of primitive peoples as unfettered and only filled with pleasure. He has shown us that it is limited by taboo prohibitions in every important respect, and almost at each step the infringement of some prohibition is threatened. We also know that savages, if they are less afraid of the open and conscious risk of death than ourselves, nevertheless for the most part do not possess stabile courage: they are easily seized with panic, and are dominated by the fear of the mysterious death brought about by spirits. The institution of the taboo is not in a position to compensate all this anxiety, and a certain quantity remains as such.

Among civilised people, whose religion is so much more

[1] There is only lacking the consciousness of illness; therefore the civilised actions compulsively carried out would have to be christened as a superstitious ceremonial, rather than as an obsessional neurotic one. The claim that the patient must recognise that he is ill is however quite arbitrary and it is best to leave it alone. In the diagnosis 'tuberculosis' or 'typhus' no one would think of raising it.

complicated, a part of the fear of death is elaborated just as in the case of savages. This part applies to earthly death as such. The hygiene and cleanliness taboos are erected for its compensation, and at the samet ime logically based. The fear of death is replaced by the care about the observance of these taboo orders.

As regards another part the fear of death is removed by raising death to eternal and real life.[1] The religions which bring this about elude the practical consequences to be drawn from this by giving a number of precepts upon the observance of which eternal salvation is made dependent. The fear of death as far as it is transmuted into a religious sense is replaced by fear of eternal punishment, and this again by care about the observance of the moral code. This elaboration therefore finally ends in a taboo similar to the neurotic obsessions. If one has to admit that the savage is not as free as he appears to be, this is also valid as regards the civilised human being and moreover in a still higher degree.

It is usual to allude to the normal person's capacity to suppress his narcissism. The normal human being is supposed to be in the position to sacrifice his ego for the social whole. I should like to question the general validity of this statement, though I admit that it may be applicable as regards exceptions or even as regards a large minority of people. It would seem rather that the normal human being gives his life for the whole only when this sacrifice is associated with the setting free of lowly organised aggressive tendencies and partial impulses. It is well known that good discipline can be maintained in an army only if there is a real fight, and that the soldier tends to fire shots in the battle, though they may not hit the mark, solely to relieve himself. I see in the capacity of the normal person to tolerate military discipline merely a relaxation of his higher psychic organisations which are normally directed towards peaceful activities, and a sense ot diminished effort at finding himself once again in the situation of the automatically obedient child. From above and not from below —from the narcissism—originate therefore the sublimated alloerotic forces which qualify for discipline. The infantile rewards of uniforms, distinctions etc., which have always been necessary, show that narcissism is not really given up in the army, but has merely become more infantile. At the moment of battle, as Wolozkoi's

[1] Freud: 'Zeitgemäßes über Krieg und Tod', *Imago,* Bd. IV, S. 1.

investigations have shown, there is rarely a conscious sacrifice of life for the whole, the majority are not capable of the simplest psychical performances, but only of automatic repetitions and similar attempts at flight, defence and attack, or advance.

The sublimations and reaction-formations of the social human being follow the mechanisms of the obsessional neuroses (there is here an agreement of the moral, logical, and aesthetic compulsion with that of the neuroses). They also tend to the return of repressed material. We see the civilisation of a people or a race built up in cycles according to the mechanisms of the obsessional neurosis, until it becomes no longer bearable; then there comes about a limitation of the useful effect through the return of the repressed material in disguised form, and a breaking through of forbidden things in war and revolution, according to the principles of the manic psychoses, while various 'isms' analogous to the paranoid fields are not lacking.

Our axis of co-ordination is better orientated—according to the principle of relativity—by these reflections. The civilised human being suffers from a special form of obsessional neurosis. The civilisation of the period of industrial production corresponds to a regression to the second pregenital organisation of the libido.

IV

REGRESSION — FIXATION (DISPOSITION)

Having thus cleared the ground we can continue our reflections Civilisation demands regression. All those who have not sufficient fixation on the second pregenital organisation of the libido will have difficulty in conducting themselves socially. Family education has the aim of making of the child a capable and loving father or mother. As soon as society takes over education it negatives this purpose and strives for an infantile one. In a small number of individuals a small part of the libido is further sublimated, but to attain this end, the sublimation already achieved by the remainder is ruthlessly sacrificed. To those who become neurotic at an early age, because they cannot keep pace with this development, must be added those who later on in puberty refuse the regression demanded by society, or in whom the regression turns out differently, because the points of fixation of their libido are

not those which society demands. Society forces upon them infantile gratifications (like the monotonous repetitions involved in working with machines)[1] and thereby calls forth the whole infantile libido-position from the past. As soon as suitable points of fixation appear in development there arises opportunity for the origin of psychotic phenomena. If no suitable fixations exist then there occur regressive alterations of character, alterations as serious and profound as the regressions of the psychoses and just as detrimental to civilisation, but which are not recognised as such because they appear *en masse.* These types of regression—many of which are typical as regards modern society—belong in a great measure to the type of the situation-psychoses. They are remedied by transplantation into an environment where the social stage of libido-discharge is on a different level. This distinction between the alterations of character in question and the recognised psychoses is still further lessened by the fact that a great number of these latter, a number which is greater the stricter the investigation, belong to the situation-psychoses.[2]

Before I pass on to a more detailed comparison I should like to make a few general remarks on disposition (fixation) in the psychoses. In the following considerations we shall start from the conclusion at which we have now arrived, i. e., that the usual classification into psychotic, neurotic and normal phenomena does not represent a gradation of the depth of regression of such a kind that the normal stands at the head, and the other groups respectively each a stage lower. This division rests exclusively on the relationship of the groups to what is tolerated socially. In psychotics the suppression fails, in neurotics there takes place a process of compromise, while normal people either submit themselves to society or else induce society to submit to them.

For the comparison of the regressions the corresponding phenomena of normal mental life will be distributed between the two other groups. I presuppose therefore an ideal, strict, social, ethical norm, as it is found only as a demand but not a reality, and I call psychotic the psychical expressions which have more the character of a flat refusal of this ethical suppression of im-

[1] There also results from this an 'ego-conflict' in the traumatic neuroses of peace-time.

[2] i. e. psychoses where the external situation has played a prominent part in the onset (Bleuler).

pulse, and neurotic those in which the character of a compromise is evident. Used only in this sense our intuitive inclination is right in ascribing to the psychoses more intense regression. This intensity is determined by a sum of products, the factors of which are on the one hand the depth of regression, and, on the other, the quantity of libido regressing to it.

It is customary to consider a fixation in narcissism as essential for the psychoses, and to contrast this group with the transference neuroses as narcissistic neuroses. I recognise the heuristic value of this grouping, but should like to emphasise that narcissistic fixation also belongs to the disposition of normal 'civilised people'. The peculiarity of psychotics consists in an insufficient relationship between socially transferable and narcissistically fixed libido. The movement of regression can very well take place in such a manner that auto-erotic or socially useless early object-erotic fixations take up the regressed social transference quantities. Thereby the narcissistic intensity and quantity can remain the same, but the relationship between social transference and narcissism can change in favour of the latter.

The disposition to the psychoses is rather to be sought in the fact that the whole sum of all more primitive fixations (palaeo-psychic fixations) exceeds a certain value. Psychoses are also denoted by a high *degree* of fixation. The stage at which the fixations lie is not characteristic for the psychotic (antisocial-neurotic) individual as a whole, but for each syndrome itself. If, nevertheless, it is wished to retain the name 'narcissistic neuroses' instead of, for example, 'palaeo-psychoses' for the antisocial-neurotic syndrome group,[1] then at least it should be emphasised that the narcissism of the psychoses, to which this name alludes, is an infantile one. The narcissism has also its further development like object-erotism.

The development of the libido, as Freud has described it, from auto-erotism to narcissism and then to allo-erotism—homosexuality and heterosexuality—can only take place through the meeting together of the libido with an impulse which splits it up, joins itself with the fragments, and changes its direction. This impulse,

[1] It would be better to keep separate the lay concept of 'mental disease' as an antisocial-psychotic group of individuals from the psychological concepts palaeo-psychoses, neo-psychoses, etc., which are here created and under which are to be understood definite types of intensity of regression, independent of the question how they are estimated by society.

the ego impulse, we only recognise in that quality as antagonist of the libido. Yet this connection is not sufficient to explain the numerous forms of the libido. An association of only two elements offers only limited possibilities. We have to assume a third factor, one which is most probably constituted as follows: the portions of the libido which have received the stamp of the different erotogenic zones also retain a certain independence within their later formed syntheses like the radical in the molecule.

The narcissistic synthesis may at first consist of an association (which may vary very greatly both qualitatively and quantitatively) of different auto-erotic components, and these components as well as the syntheses formed from them can, moreover, stand on higher or lower stages of inhibition, i. e., be allied with more or less ego impulses. If then one takes into consideration that the libido as far as it is stamped has still a direction, which we express with positive or negative signs, and that we have to distinguish among the ego impulses at least formative, secretory, sensory (?), and motor ones, then possibilities of combination are given which can comprise life as far as it lies within our scope.

The development of narcissism is still very imperfectly known. Probably the processes of splitting and condensation are both effective. Condensation in the sense that auto-erotic components of the impulse are soldered with the kernel: splitting in the sense that quantities of the narcissistic impulse-condensation are split off and enter into new syntheses with object-erotic and ego-impulse quantities governed by the pleasure- and reality-principles. The split-off quantities constantly approach more to egoism through the continual union of new ego-impulse quantities. It is not known to which of the stages the narcissism belongs, the fixation of which conditions the disposition to antisocial-psychotic phenomena; it is to be supposed that several narcissistic points of fixation have to be distinguished and that these differences contribute to the choice of psychosis.

The manner in which a fixation takes place we can provisionally represent as twofold. The social human being must be able to pass quickly from one stage of expression to another. If we, in agreement with a priori ideas, ideas that are perhaps childish but which are nevertheless unavoidable, imagine the psychical processes as the machinery driven by water-power in a high-storeyed building, a sky-scraper, then it is necessary for social adaptation

that there should be an arrangement which allows large quantities of that water to pass as quickly as possible from one storey to another. If the capacity of the water-pipe is too small for requirements that exceed the average, then we have a case of fixation. But if the lower tap or one of the lower taps is very spacious and permits a large amount to be drawn off then there is also fixation. Also if the pressure is small it is possible that without fixation only the lower storeys will be supplied with water.

A similar organic libido-insufficiency is to be imagined in the psychoses leading to pseudo-dementia.

We will not continue this crude allegory, but merely retain the notice of two possible foundations for the fixation, and meanwhile wait for anatomy to reveal the existence of such channels as we have been considering, channels the development of which we may then suppose to stand in correlation with the cultural ability of the individual.

V

CLINICAL FACTS

We will now pass on to the more special comparison of the neuroses with the psychoses. We learn the following:

1. Psychotic symptom-complexes appear in such a motley mixture in the same patient at the same time or following one another that almost no case wholly agrees with the artificial disease entities of the text books (except in the case of Bleuler's schizophrenia where the nosological concept approximately agrees with that of the functional psychoses). The clinicians are resigned to this fact through the discovery of 'degenerative insanity', which rather hides than cancels this difficulty. As examples I mention the manic and melancholic states in schizophrenia, manic and melancholic states in typical hysterical dream-states, typical hysterical twilight states in schizophrenia, isolated epileptic attacks and fugues in schizophrenia, combination of typical epileptic dementia with strokes and at the same time classical physical delusions of persecution. In one case I had a psychotic condition commence as a typical hysterical twilight state with delirium, and then saw it pass away just like classical mania, which was followed by slight

melancholia. I have seen a room full of patients who as whole a had been diagnosed as hysteria by professors of the university and as a whole suffered from profound schizophrenic dementia. I maintain therefore an acute functional psychotic state does not permit the prophecy of the further course merely on the basis of the momentary picture, a prophecy which has little more than a relative value of probability.

2. Neurotic symptoms of the most various kinds often form the prelude and interlude of the psychoses.

The combination of obsessional phenomena with manic-depressive psychoses has been minutely studied by Heilbronner and Bonhoefer. I add—and Bleuler also has alluded to it—that obsessional neurotic phenomena often occur also in psychoses of the schizophrenic groups, and that many stereotyped and bizarre movements in schizophrenics and paranoiacs are really indistinguishable from compulsive actions. Insight into the illness is lacking in these latter conditions; in the obsessional neuroses it is found, as far as I can judge, that only a part of the existing obsessional phenomena are conscious to the patients as such.

Much less frequently have I observed the symptoms of conversion hysteria in mental patients, and for the most part in manics and epileptics. On the other hand, anxiety and hypochondria are symptoms of both the neuroses and psychoses, and it depends only on the camouflage whether anxiety neurosis or anxiety psychosis is diagnosed.

3. Psychotic symptoms of a slighter degree are found in many neurotics.[1] Frames of mind of a hypomanic or melancholic character are not lacking in hysteria, just as fleeting ideas of sin inhibitions and disturbances of interest actually lie within the normal fluctuation of affect. The narcissistic identification with the object as substitute for the love charge and the conditions of unconscious loss and ambivalency in melancholia as distinct from normal grief (Freud) are to be conceived quantitatively. Among the few less severe obsessional neurotics whom I happen to have seen within and without the institution several attempts at suicide had occurred. In one patient the miscarried suicide was really a compulsive action

[1] According to the following authors genuine delusional ideas are developed in the course of a functional neurosis: Krafft-Ebing, Meynert, Wille, Emminghaus, Kraepelin, Tuczek, Morselli, Friedmann, Mickle, Schüle, Séglas, Pitres, Régis. See also the delirium in the obsessional neurosis of Freud.

which he perpetrated upon himself innumerable times; that it miscarried each time, that he survived poisoning, that by timely help he escaped bleeding to death from severed radial arteries, that a swallowed piece of fork could be removed, that the repeated deep cut in the throat did not kill him, for all this he was responsible only in so far as he did not offer too great a resistance to the attempts at saving him. The same patient had also distinct delusions of reference. Another obsessional patient at one and the same time had hypochondria, heard the devil at night, and believed in the reality of some dream phenomena; she committed suicide.

4. Signs of illness in other directions, as it were test-psychoses or neuroses, are usually observed before the outbreak of a neurosis or a psychosis proper. Particularly at the commencement of a psychosis there often exist together depressive symptoms and delusions of reference and persecution. It seems that the paths to melancholia and paranoia run along together pretty far. Similarly, transitory delusions of reference are often found at the conclusion of a manic phase.

The neuroses are not simple products of regression, but attempts at reconstruction, just like many psychotic symptoms. The deeper regression precedes them. The attempts at reconstruction at first go in many directions. One or more of them finally attract more quantities to themselves and end in the forbidden deed or gesture.

The conception of the nosological uniformity of all functional psychoses and neuroses forced upon us by these four series of facts does not prejudice the necessity of studying the single syndromes and their typical combinations; it stands, however, for quantitative instead of qualitative distinctions. This has already been maintained by Clouston and Macpherson.[1] It is supported by Freud's discovery of the *relative damming of libido* as common cause, of the *ambivalency* and *infantile fixation* as common disposition.

[1] John Macpherson: 'The Identity of the Psychoses and the Neuroses', *Journ. Mental Science*, 66, 273, April 1920. Regarding the question whether it is possible to establish psychical types of illness I refer to Hoche: 'Die Bedeutung der Symptomenkomplexe in der Psychiatrie'. *Zeitschr. f. d. ges. Neur. u. Psych.* 12, 540 (contra) and Aschaffenburg: 'Die Einteilung der Psychosen'. Handb. d. Psa. 1915, 19 ff. (pro).

VI

FREUD'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE CLINICAL ENTITIES

I shall probably not go wrong if I assume that the concepts of the 'psychoses' and the 'neuroses', according to the facts just discussed, seem to the reader more confused and hazy than before. Only if anyone attributes this unsatisfactory result to my method of representation should I object. With these concepts nothing can be done scientifically, and I have only endeavoured to make conscious the indefiniteness of their outlines.

Freud[1] has given the solution to this impasse. He distinguishes in the clinical picture:

1. The residual phenomena (of the preserved normality or neurosis).

2. Those of the process of illness (regression, the release of the libido from the objects and its location in narcissism or still deeper).

3. Attempts at restitution.

The last are for the most part those which lead to the conflict with the environment and impress us as illness.

Thus finally all psychoses and neuroses are mixtures, just as, according to Freud's striking analogy, the rock consists of several minerals. In many cases one of the syndromes assumes sole power or at any rate becomes most conspicuous from outside. The mixtures consist of:

1. The actual neuroses: anxiety neurosis, neurasthenia and hypochondria—symptoms which are the direct accompaniment either of sexual stimulation or exhaustion, or of the extraordinary charge of libido of other erotogenic zones.

2. The transference neuroses: conversion hysteria, anxiety hysteria and obsessional neuroses—further elaborations of anxiety through conversion, protection formation (phobia) and reaction formation.

3. Other less known transference neuroses, which as restitution attempts in paraphrenia (= schizophrenia + paranoia) and other psychoses lead the libido again to objects and receive their particular

[1] Sigm. Freud. 'Zur Einführung des Narzißmus', *Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse* Bd. VI, S. 1, 1914. Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse, III. 1917. 'Metapsychologische Ergänzung zur Traumlehre', *Intern. Zeitschr. f. Psa.* 1916/17, Bd. IV, S. 277; 'Trauer und Melancholie', Ibid. S. 288.

character through the great quantity of negative libido with which they have to deal, as well as their permanent tendency to return to narcissism.

4. The narcissistic neuroses—results of the regression of object-erotic quantities to narcissism—as they are found in rather pure form in paraphrenia, but also as one of the chief constituent parts in the other psychoses.

5. The hallucinatory wish-psychoses—constituent parts of amentia, dreams, and paraphrenia.

In the transference neuroses the libido, freed from a libido-position which cannot be maintained, is first turned into phantasy (introversion) which continues psychically the existence of the object that has in reality disappeared and finds for it a substitute. The miscarriage of this process gives rise to anxiety.

Such a transference neurosis is also the commencement of grief and melancholia (or the mania covering it as reaction-formation). In grief the transference succeeds along that path, in melancholia it miscarries and then follows a narcissistic neurosis.

In paraphrenia the libido freed through refusal is utilised narcissistically and here likewise worked off psychically (delusions of greatness), or in the case of failure is used for the overcharge of the auto-erotic zones, which signifies a further regression. From this deeper situation (hypochondria) the attempt at restitution is undertaken anew, which through a transference neurosis, this time a transference of quantities at an extremely infantile level of organised quantities, fastens the libido again to objects (negative transference-mania as such, which is according to the nature of the phobia either surrounded with securities like the inhibitions of motility—negativism; or else projected—delusions of persecution).

I propose to make use of a similar classification of normal persons, and first, therefore, to place at the side of the paraphrenics the individuals dominated by time and money compulsion, denoting them as metaphrenics. Metaphrenia then consists of: (1) The remainder of the earlier phases (orthophrenia), (2) An obsessional neurosis (products compulsion), (3) A narcissistic neurosis (idealism), (4) An anxiety hysteria (over-developed hygiene, etc.), (5) Transference neuroses of the second group (domestication, formation of the State, etc.). These methods of using the libido have together begun to nibble at the narcissistic neuroses, obsessional neuroses, and attempts at restitution of the historically and racially

primitive orthophrenia (the mental position of the primitive peasant folk) which together have built up religion, art and the love-life.

For the further differentiation of the hallucinatory wish-psychoses as well as of dreams as contrasted with schizophrenia Freud has developed his theory of topographical regression, which cannot be referred to briefly because the problems in this field are still not settled. I therefore refer to his works on this subject (l. c.)[1] and only quote here Freud's conclusions in so far as they have reference to my subject. In schizophrenia there is an overcharge of the (pre-conscious) word-ideas and these become elaborated, in the dream it is the (unconscious) matter-ideas which become elaborated; intercourse between the preconscious and unconscious remains free.

'In dreams the withdrawal of the charge (libido, interest) concerns all systems equally, in the transference neuroses the preconscious charge is drawn back, in schizophrenia that of the unconscious, in amentia that of the consciousuess.'

It seems to me that the theory of topographical regression is not the sole possibility of explanation (See Section VIII). Against my doubt in this respect only the following facts make me hesitate, that during the years in which I followed in relative solitude the development of the Freudian teachings I several times had such doubts which turned out to be resistances when I again revised the material, especially my own.

Psycho-analysis, however, which has so often to reject antithesis, can proceed differently from ordinary science even in dealing with working hypotheses. It seems to me permissible to use different means for investigating problems which are to explain topographical regression, even if they should clash here and there with the topographical theory.

I propose further to extend the economic point of view, by dividing the concept of the quantity[2] of libido into a concept of quantity (Helm,[3] [Mass, Entropy etc.]), and a concept of intensity (the square of velocity, temperature, potentiality, etc.). When for instance Ferenczi[4] says that hysteria is to be conceived as a hetero-

[1] The facts already in 'Die Traumdeutung', 1900, S. 312 ff.

[2] Freud, 1894.

[3] = capacity (Ostwald), content (Meyerhoffer).

[4] S. Ferenczi, 'Hysterische Materialisationsphänomene', Hysterie und Pathoneurosen, Intern. Psa. Bibl. Nr. 2, 1919, S. 30.

geneous genital function and that in hysterical conversion the earlier auto-erotisms are charged with genital sexuality, i. e. with an 'excitation' which retains in its nature and intensity the genital character after transposition, then the principle mentioned is already indicated.

VII

THE LIBIDO REGRESSION

If we consider the relations between neuroses and psychoses exclusively with reference to the libido, then a system is sketched out in the chaos of these disorders. The acquired disturbance of correlation results through the regression of the libido to the stages of fixation determined by the individual occurrences of youth. The regressively withdrawing streams of libido invest all the paths that have been relinquished. When this movement is at all marked the regression becomes strikingly like a twilight state. The rest of the symptoms belong in a great part to the process of reconstruction. The chief mass of the reconstruction in the neuroses and psychoneuroses reaches the infantile object choice and the criminal tendencies, and allows so much libido to be fixed normally that its expression can be a compromise.[1] In delusions of persecution and of grandeur disturbing quantities persist in the homosexual,[1] narcissistic[2] and sadistic-anal-erotic[3] stages; in manic depressive they persist in the first and second pregenital[4] and narcissistic[1] stages; in the obsessional neurosis[5] (including the metaphrenic culture[6]) in the narcissistic and second pregenital stage. The sadistic-anal-erotic point of fixation is common to both the manic-depressive psychoses and paranoia. The regression of a negative quantity goes back in both to auto-erotism (hypochondriacal symptoms in both). The anal-erotic quantity used for the reconstruction originates in paranoia from the regression of sublimated homosexual libido, and as far as it is positive it is used for

[1] Freud.
[2] Freud und Abraham.
[3] Ferenczi.
[4] Abraham.
[5] Freud and Jones.
[6] The Author.

the reconstruction of the ego (as delusions of grandeur), as far as it is negative for the reconstruction of the external world (as delusions of persecution).

As regards the libido-economy of melancholia it is typical that the negative anal-erotism is not elaborated object-erotically, but remains at a lower stage and is expressed as negative narcissism (delusions of inferiority, etc.). Its origin is probably less typical. Moreover, it possesses a point of fixation in the first pregenital (oral) stage which is lacking in the paranoiac syndrome. Alcoholism has its fixations in the first pregenital and homosexual stages. Schizophrenia finally is the collective name for all more severe cases of the psychoses in which the reconstruction of a part of the libido-positions makes a halt in auto-erotism or still deeper.

A certain degree of regression is answerable for the economic foundation of the difference between the neurotic feelings of being slighted or threatened, for ideas of inferiority, persecution, etc., and the equivalent delusions (where the feeling conquers the test of reality). It is not known whether this degree is intensity, quantity, or depth of the regression.

It is a fundamental remark of Kronfeld's that the causal factors as regards form, content and time of appearance of the psychosis must be different. The stage of regression (or reconstruction as the case may be) is the determining influence as regards form. The content is determined by the old *imagines* and the new condensations. We see, for example, the same complex of the ungratified desire for a child expressed in hysterics as simulated pregnancy, vomiting, meteorism, in paranoiacs as delusional ideas of being pregnant or of having an elephant in the body, in the normal woman in actions which lead to the gratification of the desire or in social substitute actions.

There is therefore no difference in principle in the normal, neurotic and psychotic. I previously had the impression that hate contributed still more to the content in the psychoses. Since I have paid more attention to hate in normal people and neurotics I am inclined to think that it is only the camouflage of the hate that is defective and its execution infantile in the psychoses.

Hate is developed secondarily in psychotics by society rejecting the actions of transference of the libido, now become infantile. The everyday observations of attendants of the insane furnish proof of this.

In the above the agreements with reference to the content of the symptom have been especially emphasised.

The differences in reference to the content are clearer between the single syndromes than between the groups of neurotics and psychotics. A certain difference in the relation between the Œdipus and the castration complex is perhaps open to discussion. Psycho-analysis teaches that the object-libido finds the parents as the first objects. Simultaneously with the condensation of the auto-erotic quantities about the nucleus of the ego there takes place a condensation of object-erotism which forms the *imago* of the father or mother, to which increasingly powerful quantities from the auto-erotism then adhere. The Œdipus complex thus originated is the kernel not only of the neuroses, but also of the psychic life in general. It does not, however, always comprise the totality of the object-erotism, since besides the condensation work which has produced and nourished it, dividing forces are also in operation which take away from it its components or parts of its quantity which bear its stamp (intensity?), and which tend to bring them into another combination. This splitting of the *imago* is supported by education; only the artist knows how to avoid it.

In addition there are perhaps from the beginning erotic impulses which will not mix with the Œdipus condensation, it may be on account of their negative properties, or other peculiarities. They, on the other hand, participate with the narcissistic components in an antagonistically directed and much less studied condensation, the castration complex, which comprises the anal defiance, urethral ambition, and the oral feeling of disappointment, but only becomes important as soon as the genital development of the Œdipus complex is inhibited. Then it joins more or less with its negative part and takes over from it the primacy of the genital zone. The procreating organ is reduced to the instrument of murder or castration, the object libido to narcissism. I arrived at the above idea from the fact that wherever the genital development of the Œdipus complex is inhibited in a strong degree through organic defect or through interference of the environment (society), the castration complex is expressed in an increased degree.

Civilised people strive after destruction of the two condensations. Among primitive people the Œdipus complex seems less split; their culture in the first instance reacts to it according to

the nature of a phobia. Among the white races the castration complex comes to greater development, their culture is in a great part sublimation of this complex, and reacts to the Œdipus complex after the nature of the obsessional neurosis.

Now it seems to me[1] that while the Œdipus complex strives to assert itself in neuroses and psychoses, and forms the content of the symptom—for in this sense the Œdipus complex is particularly the nucleus of the neuroses—the castration complex plays a greater part in the obsessional neurosis, the white civilisation, and in most institutional patients.

The typical process is then as follows: the reconstruction is the attempt at restoration in the form of an incestuous striving. This is refused in consequence of its infantile character and then the content goes back to the castration complex.

There is still a fact to be brought into the consideration of the regression—a fact which decides the result of the complicated relations between the patient's own impulses and those of society. Each psychic illness has a conflict as its condition. Roughly speaking, the neurotic has a conflict in himself, the psychotic with society. Considered more strictly, conflict is a condition not merely of illness, but of every other psychic process. As regards the conflict the phenomena of orthophrenia and metaphrenia correspond partly to the neurosis and partly to the psychosis. The amount of narcissism is highly but not absolutely correlated with the conflicts with society.

The little child at the beginning has its conflict only with its environment (apart from the antagonism between libido and ego-impulse). The possibility of an internal conflict only becomes conceivable when the child has accepted the ideals of the environment. Here I leave this train of thought, which is not completed, and note that the manner in which the psychotic person manifests his conflict goes back again to the form of conflict of the little child.

VIII

THE EGO-IMPULSE REGRESSION

The psychotic carries out in reality what the normal person and the neurotic carry out in phantasy. Thoughts which normal

[1] This assertion, like several apodictic statements in this article, is intended as a point for discussion and not as a final formula.

people and neurotics repress become as conscious as reality to the psychotic. These facts compel our consideration of the ego impulses. We will attempt a rough sketch of their development.

I present this scheme under the pressure of necessity, and am well aware that it is in the highest degree tentative. It is meant to show that the degree of regression or development of the ego impulses in every symptom keeps pace in general with the degree of development of the libido.

Hints of this are found here and there throughout Freud's works.

We possess Ferenczi's extremely important and independent work on the stages of development of the sense of reality.

The analyses of the development both of motility and of consciousness have proceeded from Freud's remark that development advances from repetition to memory.

Before these stages of repetition and before the development of the psyche to the complicated systems of inhibition and adjustment, as we now see it, the condition was probably that living beings stored energy which flowed into motility on the occasion of a stimulus coming from without or after the passing over of any threshold. (The formative and secretory stages of inhibition of the libido and the sensory discharges are not considered here). The conscious psychic content directly after the discharge was euphoria ('feeling of omnipotence' according to Freud and Ferenczi). The first further psychic content was anxiety, a state of consciousness that resulted from the heaping up of stimuli: during the discharge itself the transition from anxiety to euphoria became conscious as pleasure. Therewith the categories of ego impulse (storing impulse) and libido (pleasure impulse) are given.

In the further development we have to imagine in each new stage a repetition of these processes: the ego impulse places the threshold of discharge higher,[1] thereby anxiety becomes free as conscious sensation of the investment of old paths by the stage of anxiety.[2] At the same time the higher tension of the impulses

[1] The ego impulse corresponds to a selection by the hostile external world; whoever or whatever cannot postpone discharges, evaporates, is dispersed, suffers defeat. In many organisms (bacteria, etc.) another principle dominates, that of rapid procreation. In us it is the motor, in bacteria the formative inhibitions (ego impulse components) which have more developed.

[2] I understand here unconscious processes which accompany the damming up of libido, and give off their surplus as conscious feelings of anxiety.

makes for itself the new psychic paths of outlet that characterise the new stage. The mind is developed as a prepared field for the anxiety.

We have to imagine the first discharges as tonic in character. The visceral tensions and secretions, as well as the motility of the genital fore-pleasure, are in the higher animals fixed at this stage. The sympathetic nervous system is their organ correlate.

After these tonic stages the first advance is tonus with interruption which goes hand in hand with the development of an axial nervous system. The two kinds of innervation of every muscle correspond to these two groups of stages.

The first stage of the second group is clearly marked as an epileptic stage. The interruption succeeds sometimes and then fails. The reactions of flight and defence of lower animals go back to this stage in the case of violent terror. In order to be able to see them in their completeness one must make use of stimuli to which the animals are not yet or no longer accustomed. If, for example, an ant from the Amazon is bitten by a myrmica it has a clonic convulsive attack which represents the parody of a flight; a very strong smell stimulus has the same effect. If the big broscus which lives underground is fetched from its hole it becomes cataleptic with its jaws open and peculiarly stretched legs. In this condition it absolutely cannot use its dangerous jaws, etc.

The fact that in the functional separation of certain parts of the brain[1] the human being also reacts to stimuli with an epileptic convulsive attack leads us to suppose that this epileptic stage occurs in his development. The genital motility of the end-pleasure, male as well as female, is fixed permanently in this stage.

The discharges of the epileptic stage which have remained in the adult—like the genital and excremental discharges, laughing, sneezing, coughing and yawning—are characterised by the accompanying deep feeling of gratification, their inhibition by the great quantity of anxiety which it frees.

The stage following is that of rhythmical repetition.[2]

[1] The epileptic attack is the complete auto-erotic orgasm; the catatonic attack belongs to a higher stage.

[2] As soon as the excitation flows off, a rhythm occurs. This rhythm has a very great frequency on the tonic stage. The further development of the motility consists of a decrease of this frequency. This fact is of decisive importance for the development of the feeling of time.

The most striking residues in human beings are movements of the heart and respiration, the sucking of the new-born infant, blinking, coitus, the dance and other religious and artistic actions and games (swinging). Many psychotic phenomena (stereotyped movements, cries, etc.) are regressions to this stage.

Hereabout sets in the separation between the impulses of flight, defence and attack, and soon in connection with these the separation between male and female. All these impulses belong to the libido, with this condition, that they have assumed ego impulse-quantities according to their degree of inhibition. This stage corresponds in consciousness to the feeling of desire.

The stage following, then, is that of reactive repetition.

The motility consists of automatic and stereotyped mechanisms of attack, defence and flight, which result from stimuli (like the flight of butterflies, and the pursuit of prey by dragon-flies etc.). We find regression to this stage in the fugues of epileptic and other psychoses, and in twilight states, etc.

Here is the suitable place for the insertion of the test of reality and its influence on the censorship, that is to say, the separation of the system of the pre-conscious.

The admixture of ego impulse-quantities with the libido has gone so far in some motility-(impulse-)spheres that in these spheres the libido is subjected to the ego impulses (nourishment, etc.). The gratification of the libido (hunt after prey, etc.) then secondarily serves the ego impulse. After the discharge of these libido subsidiaries the ego impulse can compel a longer interruption.

These latter branches of the libido are those which develop themselves to further inhibition. The gratification through motility is easier for them, but is extended to a longer period than that of the genital branches.

As soon as the desire is perceived too strongly, so that consciousness has no room for it and the remainder of the excitation regresses to the anxiety stage, it is to be supposed that the censorship sets in. In the first instance this concerns the sexual desire (because its motility stands so low).

The censorship is to some degree dependent on the test of reality. If there results from the test of reality the non-existence of the desired or feared thing, then the demand arises to inhibit the rhythmical repetition, because it would signify impulse waste

and purposeless reaction. It raises itself to reactive repetition through the inhibition.

With the inhibition there is a disappearance of the conscious symptom accompanying the rhythmical repetition (the desire),[1] but at the same time a damming of impulse. A part of the dammed-up impulses invest old paths, amongst them the anxiety stage. Another part invests the future paths with memory[2] (Ecphoria with inhibited motility). The destruction of the present animates the past and creates the future.

Thus a mechanism can be imagined through which anxiety arises from repressed desire. The censorship is a function of the inhibition of movement. So far everything is in order. In fact inhibition of movement (suppression) and censorship (repression) run fairly parallel. Everything that does not fit in with the momentary direction of action is repressed. Truth is orientated pragmatically.

Psycho-analysis has made us familiar with the idea that the censorship is older than the test of reality, that it was subordinated previously only to narcissistic purposes and had to exclude from consciousness everything that would be disturbing to the feeling of omnipotence. Its new function has not replaced the older one, but covered it over. The function regresses under the conditions of the neuroses, makes itself free of the test of reality, and serves again its old magic purpose. In science, religion, and superstition and in delusions one resorts to this regression and is consoled for manifold disadvantages by narcissistic satisfaction. This primary gain seems to be authoritative for delusions; as to science one dips into it with the intention of obtaining secondary gain and, after this purpose is obtained, of submitting to the test of reality the thoughts gained along magic paths. In all cases the intended or unintended regression of the censorship does not occur without producing a corresponding regression of the remaining motility, which then impresses its stamp on scientific or religious ceremonial.

The development of the alterations which the external world produces in the relation of the individual to his enviroment takes

[1] This follows from the laws of ecphoria. Naturally I understand under the concept of desire also its negative components.

[2] The development of the unconscious and pre-conscious proceeding at the same time is not considered, not because it is less important—the opposite is the case—but because I do not know it.

the form of a transition from repression to suppression. This formula coincides with the Freudian formula already quoted: development from repetition to memory. This last formula refers to discharges that are permitted, while the first refers to such as are suppressed.

The development of the relationship to the ego likewise takes this path. It concerns conscience. As the test of reality has to investigate the external world as regards difference or agreement with the wished-for (the *imago*), so conscience has to examine the ego and its products as to difference or agreement with the ideal. It stands to narcissism in the same relationship as the test of reality to object erotism, but is far less developed.

Only when the individual takes over the ideals of his educator, that is to say, connects a part of his object libido—which he takes from the *imago* of the educator—with a narcissistic quantity and wishes to identify the *imago* of this association (the ideal) with the ego, does conscience begin to function as a new part of the test of reality formed for the investigation of the inner life. The censorship stands in relation to it as it did before to the remaining part; in the beginning it is orientated so that every thing that should hinder the identification is repressed. Often it detaches itself again from the rest of the reality test, i. e. regresses. [1]

The result of conscience was the non-fulfilment of the ideal, so that the return of the narcissistic quantity stationed in the ideal would be excluded. This exclusion would be the dynamic function of the conscience or of an inhibiting factor which becomes stimulated through the conscience.

The idealist strives further in a two-fold manner: 1. Through fulfilment of the ideal—suppression. This is idealism as one would like to imagine it. 2. Through repression. The result o-conscience is either permanently repressed or only long enough for the identification, the re-establishment of the original narcissism, to succeed; then it is projected. This second—magic—process, which really is older than the first, is seldom missing, and gives to idealism, when it is strongly developed, its character of a genuine narcissistic neurosis.

The whole complex is not represented in the repression, but

[1] In analytic treatment this developmental process with its regressions of the censorship in each new resistance is to be pursued *in nuce*.

only a part (one of its symbols). On this is based the Freudian method of rediscovering the thing repressed. According to Freud thinking is an experimental action with displacement of small quantities. I will add that this experimental action takes place simultaneously according to the different stages of the development of the motility. Each path is charged according to its capacity. We could imagine the repression as an inhibition of this experimental action at the highest stages of the development of motility.[1] There remains then the experimental displacement in the paths of other stages, pre-conscious so long as the stages of the actions remain charged, unconscious when it only concerns charges of the lower stages. The *imago* of the highest stage, thus robbed of its tendencies, remains conscious as memory. Memory therefore originates through repression of something else. The conscious content is always the common third in the simultaneous ecphoria of many simultaneous stimulus-complexes, each with its tendency. If, now, one of these tendencies is suppressed, because it contradicts another dominating tendency, then the common third of the stage in which the inhibition takes place is displaced. A part of the ideas is withdrawn into the unconscious (that is to say, there remain only the charges of the lower stages, which however are charged the more strongly), others stand out in their place. These latter are those which furnish the substitute memory,[2] which emerges in the supposed moments of repression.

The next stages—those of postponed repetition—comprise by far the greater part of life after the period of suckling, although in adults many actions are fixed in lower stages.

During the pause in discharge the excitation finds the paths of the memory stage as mode of outlet (and the lower stages).

Quite at the end of these series two more stages can be clearly distinguished. They are the stage of lies and dissimulation, and the idealistic stage, both of which lie within the social development, and both of which bear characters already regressive. Several pathological reconstructions are variants of them. They are only to be understood if one consciously takes into consideration the libidinous compensations in the system.

[1] I am unable to estimate whether this attempt at explanation makes a topographical idea of the repression superfluous; so far it does not seem to me to contradict it.

[2] Or 'feeling'.

In delusions much of the unconscious can become conscious, because the narcissistic compensation is secured through the mechanism of projection; in sleep the censorship can relax or become otherwise orientated, because the motility is otherwise orientated.

In each inhibition of the reaction of a higher stage the dammed-up libido finds the next lower stages for discharge, and in addition makes new paths. In part these are limited to thoughts (phantasy). The content of the phantasy can be nothing else than the investment of the *imago* the realisation of which was inhibited; that is to say, the wish-fulfilment. The influence of the censorship on these phantasies is manifestly weaker than that of the inhibition on the remaining motility.[1] If they are strongly charged then they break through the censorship and become conscious on the memory stage—accompanied by simultaneous strong repression on a lower stage (desire, anxiety, etc.). This possibility, therefore, originates only in strong erotisation of thinking. In all those symptoms which resemble delusions and also in the analogous phenomena of healthy persons, we have to assume an over-strong pleasure in thinking which corresponds to a libido over-charge of the brain.[2]

Between phantasy and action there are a number of transitions, the gestures, of which language is the last developed branch. The stages of development of these phantasies and gestures have been described very accurately by Ferenczi, so that I am astonished that no clinician has made this work the basis of a clinical psychiatry.

Lies and dissimulation correspond to a new subjection of libidinous compensations (gestures and phantasies) under the domination of the ego impulses. They save the work of repression in others and become of value socially. It seems that society endures every real disadvantage rather than give up its repressions. Society puts itself at the standpoint of that woman betrayed by her husband: 'pourvu que je ne le sache pas.'

They are regressive because they correspond to a phantasy elevated to gesture which has not passed the test of reality.

[1] This circumstance indicates that the phantasy is older than the fully developed motor discharge.

[2] One is not terrified by such a materialistic expression. Perhaps we have no reason to conceive the libido materially, but just as little reason to forbid it. The whole assumption is perhaps superfluous.

In the last stage its value is again repressed but not suppressed. There occurs a curtailment of the obsessional neurotic mechanism with evasion of the long path of prohibition, displacement, and return of the repressed. And this for the reason that a part of the *imago* is made independent, endowed with entire paternal authority, identified with the narcissistic *imago* (the ego-ideal); the prohibition is changed in a still unexplained manner into a command and ascribed to it, whereby the forbidden deed is committed simply in the name of this ideal.[1] The ceremonial of the feast is a transition stage to that of idealism. In the feasts of the orthophrenics hate is still admitted as a pure return of the repressed (Festival fights of primitive peoples, carnival affrays). Only the return of the primitive libido is admitted to the feasts of the metaphrenics, the hate is assigned to idealism. The libido quantity saved by the idealistic process of curtailment enters at first into narcissism, causes the elevated frame of mind of the idealist, and renders possible the further identification with authority and the projection of the prohibition. The original delusion of greatness of the normal child is again reached on this idealistic path. The mechanism resembles economically a pendant of paranoia which is not exclusively homosexual.[2]

I mention these stages in particular because an early fixation of the ego impulses belongs to the conditions of some psychoses. Both neurotics and psychotics have an over-development of the narcissistic compensation. In neurotics the chief weight falls on the narcissistic (and other regressive) phantasies, in psychotics on the narcissistic gestures. This regressive over-development of gestures, which thereby escapes the denial and dissimulation demanded by society, is the cause of the particular attitude of the laity towards mental patients. The psychotic acts anew the repressed period of childhood, as the delirious person acts the later phantasies.

The theoretical structure shortly sketched above can very well

[1] See also, Abraham: *Intern. Zeitschr. f. ärztl. Psa.* Bd. IV, 1916-17, S. 183. For the leading points of view for the understanding of idealism: Sigm. Freud, 'Zur Einführung des Narzißmus', *Jahrbuch d. Psa.* Bd. VI, 1914, S. 1-24. Bernard Shaw, The Quintessence of Ibsenism, Ideals and Idealists.

[2] In the meantime I in no way consider the explanation of idealism given here a first-rate one. It emphasises a side—the repressed side—of idealism too exclusively. However, it is well to consider that the euphrenia serves for its social purpose such a cult of the lies of life, which nosologically belongs to the narcissistic neuroses.

be a house of cards. I do not even attempt to base it more securely, as this would be impossible in the scope of an article. It is here only of service as a provisional system of ideas, which is to permit the consideration of the ego impulses. I should like to call special attention however to just three points of view, which I believe have to play a further rôle, namely, the reference to the lower stage of the genital (and other caudal) motility, the reference to the primary character of the inhibition in the movement impulse, and retardation of the rhythm as the guiding line of the development of motility.

IX

SUMMARY

THE ROLE OF INFANTILE WISH-FULFILMENT

The relation between neuroses and psychoses can be summed up as follows: Both categories originate from the relative damming of libido as cause, and from the infantile fixation and ambivalency as dispositional factors (libido impoverishment can be a cause in itself, the fixation has then little significance).

The difference between the two groups is a quantitative one. The boundary is dependent on the stage of development or regression of the social civilisation.

The criterion of the lay concept of mental disease lies in the technique of the morbid gestures (including speech), which shocks the normal repression. In both groups the regression can pass from libido and ego impulses to the very lowest stage. The regressing quantity and the intensity of the regression of the libido are in general less in the neuroses. The reconstruction is a compromise in the neuroses; its result stands on a low stage in general in the psychoses, as much for the libido as the ego impulses. The obsessional neurosis (including civilisation) takes a medial position between psychoses and neuroses.

The regression of the ego impulses runs parallel to that of the libido.

The dispositional factor of the fixation is in the psychoses an increase of the entire intensity of the fixation on lower stages.

The symptomatological difference between the two groups is

Stages of the development of the Ego-Impulses

Stages of the motor inhibition of the Libido
Stages of the sensory inhibition of the Libido (?)
Stages of the secretory inhibition of the Libido
Stages of the formative inhibition of the Libido

Stages of development of the Form of Motility.	*Cultural Stages of the Sexual Moral. (1-3 According to Freud.)*
(Of the Motor Inhibition, of the Motor Ego-Impulses).	
Tonic Stages.	
Tonus with Interruption.	
Epileptic Stage.	1. Unconditional Free Practice.
Stage of Rhythmical Repetition.	
Stage of Reactive Repetition.	
Stages of Postponed Repetition. (stage of transference)	2. Freedom only for Procreation.
Stage of Lies and Dissimulation.	3. Freedom only for Legitimate Procreation (Cultural Sexual Moral).
Idealistic Stage.	4. Procreation only for Definite Classes (ergatoid Degeneration).

Stages of Development of the Conscious Content.	*Stages of Development of the Sense of reality according to Ferenczi* (of the libidinal compensation).
Euphoria.	Stage of Unconditional Omnipotence.
Anxiety.	Stage of Magic-Hallucinatory Omnipotence.
Desire.	
	Stage of Omnipotence with the help of Magic Gestures.
Memory.	
	Stage of the real stage with magic thought and magic words.

not dominated so much through the increase of the narcissism in the psychoses as through its infantilism and through the breakdown of the positive object-erotism which can keep the narcissism in check.

The differences between the symptom pictures are, moreover, conditioned through the intensity of the regression as well as through the distribution of the libido over parts of the body. The psychotic breaking down of the censorship is perhaps conditioned through abnormally strong pleasure in thinking. In the psychoses organic libido increase plays a greater part. Organic libido decrease is also responsible for schizophrenic pseudo-dementia.

The four Freudian types of neurotic illness also occur in the psychoses. In additon, psychoses often follow infantile wish-fulfilments (for example, death of a relative, the possibility of perverse practices), which are often thrust upon one by society.

Neuroses as reaction to denial have the tendency to remove a want or create a substitute for it, and are more easily influenced.

Psychoses as reaction to fulfilment of forbidden wishes coinciding with the damming of libido seem to be influenced less easily. In the neuroses the teleological aspect preponderates, in the psychoses the causal aspect; or, better expressed, in the neuroses the secondary gain of illness preponderates, in the psychoses the primary.

I must establish this aetiological assertion a little better. For, since the neuroses and other regressive processes according to Freud follow the denial of the libidinal gratification, the statement that psychoses often follow wish-fulfilments might possibly give rise to apprehension whether one has generally the choice of anything else than psychosis or neurosis. Therefore I expressly emphasise that the aetiologically effective and real wish-fulfilment must be an infantile (forbidden) one, and I think the thesis can be best made clear by an example.

Some years ago I observed a paraphrenic whose most pronounced symptoms were periodic hallucinations of hearing, and complicated and systematised delusions of reference and accusation. This man was also interesting in that he had repeatedly changed his neurosis during his lifetime. When he was fifteen years old he had a hysterical paralysis of the left arm which resulted after convulsive attacks. During his period of study he had

produced several works as an author (literary sketches). During his engagement he had for some time suffered from a knife phobia. His delusions broke out only after the inner failure of his marriage. He had never had sexual intercourse during his three years of marriage. He, like his wife, was entirely inexperienced and timid, she had had vaginismus from the commencement and was disinclined for intercourse. There were then in this case causes enough for the damming of the libido, and evidence in plenty for the importance of the factor of privation. On closer consideration the matter turned out to be considerably more complicated. As foundations of his neurotic constitution were established a number of infantile libido fixations, which were grouped about the sadistic-anal-erotic stage. His object libido was relatively limited in comparison with that used narcissistically, and the homosexual stage was also excessively charged. Taken all together the whole development of the libido was retarded by one station. Among the infantile phantasies one appeared particularly in the foreground in which he beat a girl on her bare buttocks. The struggle against these phantasies had an influence on his aesthetic and ethical development. In his marriage he now found opportunity to realise this phantasy through the masochistic attitude of his wife. The beating formed his marital activity; he masturbated as well. It is therefore uncertain whether one could talk of a real damming-up of libido; I dare say this had preceded. During this period there originated neurotic and artistic symptoms, but no psychosis. The psychosis originated after a period of libidinal discharge on a lower stage of development, after real fulfilment of an infantile wish.

As the chief stream of the libido was turned on to the second pregenital stage, there remained for the charge of the genital stages only entropy sufficient for the formation of phantasies which, since the censorship corresponding to the real activity had regressed, were then worked out in delusions. In this case we can represent the rôle of the preceding libido-damming as the one source of the libidinal over-charge of the phantasies, so that these in themselves became more pleasurably emphasised than usual. The form of the discharge—through short circuit—brought it about that the object was conceived infantilely.

In erroneously carried out actions, which are indeed otherwise estimated through their incidental appearance but which have nevertheless to be conceived as psychotic phenomena in their

nature though lying within the normal, we also find the influence of the infantile wish-fulfilment. A second example might illustrate this.

An ambitious nurse of a somewhat neurotic constitution was one day promoted to be a charge nurse. During the subsequent weeks she was reported twice for being late on duty, which had never happened before. The wish-fulfilment of the promotion was in itself completely conscious and not infantile, but it concealed an infantile and unconscious overestimation of her new dignity. She behaved as though punctuality had now become superfluous.

Since I had had to treat her earlier on account of conversion-hysteria symptoms, difficult temper, and examination anxiety, I knew that she possessed a strong self-overestimation restrained with some difficulty. This was stimulated by the promotion. Before she became a nurse she had endeavoured to obtain another intellectual position, but this had to be given up on account of examination anxiety just before she reached her goal. Her promotion therefore fulfilled a long-felt need. From the point of view of libido-economics it might be said that there existed a libido-damming which, as soon as the long cherished wish was finally fulfilled, flowed off at the first moment to a somewhat too low level in agreement with the narcissistic fixation, which was strengthened anew by the esteem originating from outside.[1]

As a consequence of the fact that in order to attain the result she was compelled during several years of work to sacrifice something of her self-glorification, i. e. to loosen the narcissism and to turn a portion of her libido to outer objects—a task which succeeded though not without the accompaniment of certain neurotic by-products—this portion of the libido flowed back again from the objects to narcissism after the final attainment of the goal, and had to be forced anew, through the intervention of the environment, to move itself to the uncomfortable higher level.

The primary illness gain is neutralised by the secondary illness loss. The symptom breaks out as soon as the latter no longer threatens. This is valid for all narcissistic symptoms and also for that part of the 'psychosis' which is a narcissistic neurosis.

A third example. Social life is interspersed with all kinds of

[1] The other determinations, the castration complex, tendencies to self-punishment, identification with her mother, etc. I cannot go into lest I break the connection.

actions which are not logically motivated, and which to the objective observer, or to an inhabitant of Mars endowed with judgement, must appear as bordering on the insane. Take, for instance, applause. This is obviously an entirely senseless action. A collection of people, who have been for some time silent and peaceful and have borne the influence of one or some other individuals on their sight and hearing, at the end of the performance breaks into an infernal noise, and the individual who has taken pains to please them is far from feeling offended at this outbreak, but, on the contrary, is the more flattered the more violent it is and the longer it lasts.

The meaning of this nonsense is as follows. In the course of every lecture, sometimes after several hours or minutes, sometimes even after a few seconds, a moment comes in which the public has only one manifest wish: Let it end! Let him disappear!

This wish is nourished by primitive infantile rebellious tendencies, by mutiny against every authority, against the compulsion to immobility, against the father or the one temporarily representing his authority.

Hardly is this infantile wish fulfilled—the lecture is over, thank goodness—when the libido dammed up by the long enforced immobility breaks out in a discharge and indeed takes on the epileptic phase.[1]

This would be the meaning of the symptoms with reference to the negative libido. The rites in question are grief rites. The positive side is also easily guessed. One puts himself into a passive attitude and tolerates for some time the activity of one or several individuals. Now the enjoyment ceases, and this gives to the public, who have remained passive, occasion for an actively directed expression towards the individual who was active, an expression which can be better understood if we study its various degrees.

[1] Naturally this does not mean that I ascribe epileptic attacks to normal human beings. The epileptic attack is a discharge of the 'epileptic' stage of inhibition, likewise the fanatical applause, but applause and attack are yet not identical. The criterion of the 'epileptic' stage of inhibition is the continuance of the discharge with interruptions up to exhaustion. I chose the term 'epileptic'—pars pro toto—because this word is easily impressed.

I also willingly admit that in most cases the applause is more inhibited, and belongs to the stage of rhythmical repetition, as Prof. Freud remarked during the author's lecture. Sometimes even to the stage of lies and dissimulation.

Its conscious purpose is to be a reward and a sign of sympathy and thanksgiving. It is a request to continue a while, and it allows itself to be stopped only by an encore.

Applause in its usual form is only a rudiment. In its more complete form its meaning is that the active individual should come back, then go away again, then return; so he has to carry out in the hall a coming and going movement, which, if the success was complete, is crowned by the fact that he is offered flowers, and in the highest stage, and only if he is a man, is offered a wreath for his head. Briefly, one does not need to go to Central Australia to find a social ceremonial in which a group of human beings summons another one by rhythmical clapping of hands to copulation.

The whole has the form of an exchange of rhythmical gestures between the public and those who come before the public. It is a conversation in a language which we understand better than that which we speak or write, and in which we feel ourselves happier.

It seems that the savage in us is not replaced by the civilised human being, but is covered over by him as by a net. The primitive peeps through the meshes on all sides. Every conversation, every one of our expressions, moves at the same time in paths of all stages of inhibition; in every stage resounds a little of every stage that has been overcome from time immeasurable; the greater the share of the lower stages and the more it contains of the sphere of rhythm, etc., so much the more unrestrainedly and deeply it gratifies us.

If one gives undivided attention for only one hour to the psychic impulses, words, and movements of a human being, one is easily convinced that the 'cultural' highest stages of inhibition are not more common in the midst of the deeper ones than are ships on the wide rhythmical world of ocean waves and currents. For navigation we require the sea as much as the ships, even if there are storms.

I should like to exploit somewhat more fully the example of applause. The discharge at the end of the lecture is not as a rule the only thing. Compromises now and then occur during the enforced immobility and when attention is turned towards the object. Someone blows his nose at the wrong time, coughs or yawns, another allows his attention to wander and gives himself

up to his own day-dreams in expectation of an occasion to laugh —likewise a discharge of lower stages of inhibition approximating to the epileptic stage.

Whilst the applause was the cultural analogue of an acute psychosis, we have before us, in these compromises, actions which show some inner agreement with neurotic actions. They appear during the damming of libido enforced by the social attitude. As in the two other examples we find that during the period of the damming-up the work of civilisation takes place, conception, understanding, elaboration and eventually creation. As by-products there appear neurotic, either perverse or criminal, at any rate infantile, minor discharges, residual elaborations. As soon as society opens the sluices and raises the dam the greater discharge takes place; a discharge which is the more violent and the inhibition (ego impulse) of which is the lower, the greater was the preceding damming-up, and the greater are the capacities (fixations) of the lower levels as compared with those of the higher. Discharge seeks only the lowest resistance. Every discharge on a certain level increases the capacity of that level. Although the fixations acquired during development are highly important, it is very likely that society—by removing inhibitions or directly prescribing monotonous repetitions as in Taylor's system and its recent modifications which announce themselves under innocent names and form the harmful background of psycho-technique—causes regressions of longer duration which, as psychoses and in their mass appearance as wars and social unrest, endanger its own existence.

Reality, to which progressive development learns to pay attention and on which patients are wrecked, in society increasingly consists of the more or less regressed libido of other social classes. Five years ago I would not have dared to emphasise so expressly the importance of social order for the causation and also for the constitutional disposition of mental diseases. Society appeared to be something unalterable, and our sole task was to help the patient to adapt himself again to this society.

At the present time when equilibrium is so unstable, we too are responsible for the coming reconstruction, and the demand must be made that not only should man adapt himself to society, but that society should adapt itself to the peculiar needs of man.

COMMUNICATIONS

A BIRTH OF THE HERO MYTH FROM KASHMIR

by

M. R. C. MACWATTERS, Lucknow, India.

The Valley of Kashmir is a wide alluvial plain which to this day is liable to disastrous floods because at its outlet the main river escapes through a narrow gorge which obstructs the escape of any considerable accumulation of water. In fact the whole valley is almost as dependent as Holland on its drainage and other engineering works.

The first serious attempt to protect it by dams and drainage operations was made by Suyya in the ninth century and an account of his exploits is given by a historian named Kalhana[1] who wrote three centuries later. Although much of his story appears to be historical, the account of Suyya's origin is a typical birth-myth, which utilizes a part of his engineering exploits for its symbolic expression. Kalhana recounts how such protective works as already existed had been neglected by a series of kings until the reign of Avantivarnam and how famine had come upon the land in consequence. He then proceeds as follows:

Chapter V, Paragraph 72. Then through the merits of Avantivarnam *there descended to earth the Lord of Food himself,* the illustrious Suyya *to give fresh life to the people.*

73. *The origin of the wise man was not known, and his deeds* which *made the world wonder* proved that though [he appeared] in the fourth period (Yuga) *he was not born from a* [woman's] *womb.*

74. Once a Candala woman, Suyya by name, found when sweeping up a dust heap on the road *a fresh earthen vessel* fitted with a cover.

75. Raising the cover *she saw lying in it a baby,* which had eyes like two lotus leaves and was sucking his fingers.

[1] See Fajatarangini by Kalhana. Translated into English by Sir Aurel Stein, 1900.

76. 'Some unfortunate woman *must have exposed this lovely boy.*' Thus she thought in her mind, and then from tenderness her breasts gave milk.

77. Without defiling the child with her touch she *arranged for his keep in the house of a Sudra-nurse* and brought him up.

78. Taking the name of Suyya he grew into an intelligent [youth] and having learned his letters *became a teacher* of small boys in the house of some householder.

79. *As he endeared himself to the virtuous by observances in regard to fasts, bathing and the like, and showed a brilliant intellect, men of sense kept around him in assemblies.*

80. When these were complaining in their conversation of the flood calamity he said 'I have got the knowledge [for preventing it] but what can I do without means?'

81. When *the King heard through spies* that he was saying these words persistently, as if he were deranged in his mind, he was surprised.

82. *The King had him brought up* and questioned him about this saying. He calmly replied also in the royal presence 'I have got the knowledge.'

83. Thereupon the Lord of the Earth, *though his courtiers declared him (Suyya) crazy,* was anxious to test that knowledge and placed his own treasures at his disposal.

84. He took many pots full of money (dinnara) from the treasury and *embarking on a boat* proceeded in haste to Madavarajya.

85. After dropping there a pot full of money at a village called Nandaka which was submerged in the flood he hurriedly turned back.

86. *Though the councillors said 'that Suyya is surely only a madman'* the King when he heard this account became interested in watching the end of these proceedings.

87. On reaching in Kramajya the locality called Yaksadara he threw with both hands money (dinnara) into the water.

88, 89. There where the rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks had compressed the Vitasta and made its waters turn backwards the famine stricken villagers then searched for the money, dragged out the rocks from the river, and thus cleared the [bed of the] Vitasta.

90. After he had in this manner artfully drained off that water for two or three days, he had the Vitasta dammed up in one place by workmen.

91. The whole river which Nila produced was blocked up by Suyya for seven days by the construction of a stone dam—a wonderful work.

92. After having the river bed cleared at the bottom and stone walls constructed to protect it against rocks which might roll down he removed the dam.

93. Then the stream flowing to the ocean set out on its course in haste as if eagerly longing for the sea after its detention.

94. When the water left it the land was covered with mud and with wriggling fishes and thus resembled the [night] sky which when free from clouds displays black darkness and the stars.

96. The river with its numerous great channels branching off from the original channel appeared like a black female serpent which has numerous hoods resting on one body.

Following the example of Otto Rank in 'The Myth of the Birth of the Hero' those points which are common to many such myths are printed in italics. Their analysis has been fully worked out by him and need not be dealt with here, but several features of the present story are worthy of mention.

We may infer that the hero's real father is the King. It is true that the phrase which attributes his origin to the merits of the King is a common expression in the flattery of oriental courtiers who attribute all fortunate events to the auspiciousness of their ruler, but we may interpret it as an implication of parenthood also, especially as the scene in which the King receives and welcomes him is very reminiscent of the scenes of reconciliation in other hero-myths. The hostility between father and son is not obvious but is perhaps hinted at in the neglect, not of the King but of his predecessors, and in the activity of his spies. The hostility of the courtiers must surely stand for the hostility between the hero and his brothers. Several points in the story show reduplication, for example he is found in a pot and embarks in a boat upon the water, these symbolising the same idea, and the first foster mother, like Pharoah's daughter, hands him over to a second.

We see the expression of a number of childhood fantasies in the tale. The hero boasts insistently 'I have the knowledge' and that even in the presence of the King (father). Just so would the

child like to be able to boast of sex-knowledge even to his father but cannot, and even when he has the knowledge he lacks 'the means'. Whereas in some fantasies it is the father who denies knowledge and power to the son, here the father encourages the one and provides the other (wish-fulfilment). Sir Aurel Stein's notes on the word 'dinnara' here used for money are interesting. A dinnara is a unit of value so small that it was more likely a cowrie than a metal coin (and lends itself therefore to identification with seed) while the ideas of money and grain are largely interchangeable since payments were more often made in grain than in coin even up to recent times in Kashmir.

The 'infantile theory' of generation from faeces comes to expression through the dust heap where he is found and through the mud which covered the land and swarmed with wriggling fishes.

We find also an expression of the common fantasy of being one's own father. The Hero engages in certain interesting operations at the outlet of the valley where he scatters money (or seed), as a result of which there is an accumulation of the waters for seven days, or if we allow ourselves to add the two or three days mentioned in verse 90, a total period of 9 or 10 days corresponding to the 9 months or 10 moons of pregnancy, and he achieves this result by the erection of a dam whose solidity the story emphasises, 'a wonderful work' indeed! In the opening sentence we are told that he 'came to give life' which he does by fertilising Kashmir, his mother-land.

PERSONS IN DREAMS DISGUISED AS THEMSELVES

by

ERNEST JONES, London.

I have repeatedly met with a remarkable form of disguise in dreams which does not seem to have received much attention, although it is one that can be particularly misleading to the analyst. Its characteristics are as follows. A well-known figure appears in the dream, most often a parent, clear and unmistakable. The associations, however, lead just as unmistakably to another person, and are of such a kind as evidently to apply to the latter. One is thus bound to say that the familiar person in the dream is for some reason replacing the other, and in interpreting the dream one has to substitute the second person in the place of the first. Many analyses go no further than this quite correct procedure, no suspicion being aroused. Yet when one reflects on the matter one finds it peculiar—and contrary to our experience otherwise—that a familiar image, and one dating from the earliest infancy, should represent one of later date and of less psychical significance to the dreamer. To accept such a state of affairs as a definite explanation would be to approximate to the views held by Adler, Jung and Maeder, according to which a recently acquired and often highly abstract notion can be 'symbolised' by a more concrete and personal image dating from infancy, i. e. the very opposite to the general findings of psycho-analysis. The dreams in question afford a very good test as to which view is nearer to the truth.

On paying attention to all the details of such dreams it will be found that what may be called the 'current' interpretation does not cover them as completely as it at first seemed to, some really relating to the actual dream person. On pursuing the analysis it will also be discovered that the 'dream thoughts' concerning the second person who is concealed behind the dream figure are really of the nature of transferences from repressed infantile material which once referred to the original person, the dream figure, and still does

so in the unconscious. The process is well illustrated in the following dream.

The patient dreamt that *she and her mother were in the presence of some officials, who were inquiring as to their ages. The mother stated hers as 22, whereupon the patient thought, a little derisively, 'How can she make such a ridiculous statement when her age is actually 52.'*

It appeared a particularly meaningless dream, for her mother's actual age was 61, and no question of age had arisen of late in regard to her. On the other hand 52 was the age of her mother-in-law, and the further associations made it plain that this was the woman intended in the dream.

On thinking of the ages given in the dream the patient's first reflection was that the difference between them was 30, from which one drew two inferences: that the number 3 was of some importance, and that there was some dream thought of comparison between two ages, probably the difference between the ages of two people. Although the number 3 was contained in the first association, it was only indirectly indicated in the manifest content of the dream, where the figure 2 occurs *three* times over and the difference between it and the only other figure is also 3. We are therefore concerned with three figures, 2, 3 and 5. These relate both to her own age (35) and to her mother-in-law's (52). It was a great grievance with the mother-in-law that the patient was 6 (2×3) years older than her son (the patient's husband), partly because she feared that there might be no offspring. There was a considerable rivalry between the two women (especially on the part of the older one) as to the possession of the husband, who was an only child. An absurd instance had happened a short time before, when at the census-taking (statement of ages) the mother-in-law had refused to enter her son as a guest (he was staying with her for a day or two at the particular date); she insisted on entering him, not only as a permanent resident in her house, but also as a 'student', although he had completed his professional studies years before. He was born when his mother was 22, the other age in the dream, the theme of child-birth being thus indicated.

At the time of the dream the patient was pregnant and there had been considerable friction over this subject with the mother-in-law, who was already indicating her intention of exercising authority

over the future arrangements and upbringing of the child. Both women were therefore instituting claims over the child, as over the man, and the dream represents the scornful reflection of the younger woman that the day of the other was past. It practically says: 'Remember you are 52; you mustn't think that *you* are bearing a child, that you are again 22'; in it there is contained a veiled reference to the patient's own age and therefore to the contrast.

This seems an entirely satisfactory explanation of the dream, and does indeed account for the current 'dream-thoughts'. But I have not related the whole of the dream, nor, for certain reasons, can I. Pursuance of the analysis, both of these other details, which related to the mother, and of the themes just mentioned, shewed that the dream, like most dreams, had also infantile roots. The most prominent number in the dream, 2, related to the age when the patient had woven various important child-birth phantasies during her mother's pregnancy, and the more concealed, i.e. repressed, number, 3, was her age when these were destroyed by the birth of a little brother. While, therefore, all the immediate associations led away from the mother who appeared in the dream, and indicated that she was only the substitute for another person, closer consideration shewed that this second person owed much of her significance to the fact that she was an adult substitute for the mother of childhood.

In the process in question there are thus three layers: the original person and the infantile thoughts relating to him or her; the secondary person about whom there are similar thoughts also in a state of repression; and the superficial appearance of the original person in a situation that would more naturally apply to the second one. It is with excellent reason that, for instance in this dream, the mother is used to represent thoughts concerning the mother-in-law. The patient had always been on good terms with her mother as long as she could remember and the infantile situation indicated above was covered by an almost complete amnesia in which there were only a few islands of 'screen-memories'. No more successful way, therefore, could have been chosen to conceal the rivalry and jealousy with the mother-in-law over the birth of a child than, in effect, to say, 'Of course I am not jealous of her; that is as impossible as saying that I could have been jealous of my own mother when she bore my little brother'. And

no argument could be more convincing to the patient, for as it concerned the most deeply repressed part of her personality nothing could be more remote from her consciousness or less likely to be true.

The process illustrates two phenomena with which we are familiar in psycho-analysis: the 'return of the repressed' as Freud terms it; and the significance of free association, which is the essence of the argument underlying the dream. When a patient says 'this is as likely—or as impossible, as the case may be—as that', he is furnishing an unusually free association, to which special attention should always be paid. Itis a familiar experience that when anyone says 'for example' then we get the truth.

AN UNANALYSED CASE
ANAL EROTISM, OCCUPATION AND ILLNESS[1]

by

JOHN RICKMAN, London.

The old man whose case is here given came under observation in circumstances which rigidly excluded analytic investigation; the facts given below were poured forth by the patient and tell their own tale; this brief notice cannot convey the full impression his conversation left on the mind, his dramatic nods and grimaces illustrated his story when words failed him.

The patient is now aged sixty-five. He said he had bowel trouble for twenty-seven years, beginning with 'diarrhoea and corruption and prolapse following the conception of my only son'; he had 'no control over his bowels at all'. Since that time (1893) he had not had a single solid motion. I asked whether he had had treatment and what relief he had received. He replied that when going to a doctor he always said, 'Now, doctor, don't interfere with my bowels whatever you do!' Nevertheless he went to a famous hospital and was treated for six months. He kept 'fit' for twelve years and then became worse. At this point I asked how fit he was during that time. He said he was fit enough to work, he didn't *go* more than four times before he left the house in the morning; once immediately on rising, the second time after lighting the kitchen fire, then again after shaving and last after breakfast just before leaving for his work. I asked if the diarrhoea continued throughout the day and if his illness interfered with his work. He replied that usually he did not go more than eight times in the day and that he always knew how hard he was going to find the day's work by the way he went before breakfast, 'more than four times and I know I am going to have a bad day.'

In 1904, after twelve years of good health, his trouble became

[1] This case-history was presented verbally to a meeting of the British Psycho-Analytical Society on February 10, 1921.

worse so that he was 'weakened in body' and he returned to the hospital. Here, he said, they fetched the doctors with the longest fingers and examined his back passage. It was said that the 'webs' which held his bowels up were weak and so his 'insides' had dropped down. He was in a bad way, they gave him six hours to live and advised that he should go to the infirmary. His wife would not hear of this, so he returned home and recovered without treatment.

Eight years later the trouble returned. In the interval he had poor sphincter control but could 'hold' better at some times than others. Again eight years later he had another bad turn and on this occassion went to another hospital where I saw him. I asked what the hospital had done for him this time; he replied, rather dolefully, that they had cut his bowels out. As a matter of fact a caecostomy had been performed and he had colon lavage daily. At the operation the pathological findings were: Enormous thickening of caecum and ascending colon. The blood serum agglutinated Flexner's bacillus in all dilutions and Shiga's partially. No amoebae were found in the stools; he received a course of emetine.

He did not volunteer anything else about his health so I asked him about his occupation. He was a labourer and worked for preference at unstopping sewers or in digging the foundations of houses and making the trench from the house to the 'main' (drain, of course). I asked if the smells in the sewers were bad, he replied, 'Oh no. Well, nothing in partic'lar. I never worked in compressed air'. It appears that some sewers are kept fresh by forced draught, it was in such that he had not worked. He had also been a bricklayer's labourer and had to mix the mortar.

He was next asked to tell about his bowel condition before the illness which began twenty-seven years ago and in particular his condition during infancy. He said he had been 'free in his motions as a young nipper but later had a costive nature' which caused him to miss a day or two, and he had had trouble to pass his motions, which were like green walnuts. However, at the age of sixteen or seventeen when he went to work at the gas-works his costiveness came to an end and he was 'free' again.

When asked what his relations had suffered from he replied that he had an idea that his father was troubled with his bowels, because he was frequently seen to stand with his legs crossed in

an attitude as though he was squeezing himself up. Then the patient volunteered, 'I always advises my son, "if you feel it—GO! Never hold it back"'. His son is now 'troubled with kidneys and wind'.

The patient dreams at night that women are preventing him from going to the water closet.

SOME REMARKS ON A DREAM

by

ADOLPH STERN, New York.

In my experience it has not often occurred that a dream should contain material in barely disguised, yet symbolic form; material that was in the main readily interpreted on direct or immediate associations. An interesting feature is that of the two important wish (repressed) elements in the dream one was present in the patient's consciousness from the time of its origin, while the other became evident to her only when well along in the analysis. It may also be of interest that though the dream is short, and the associations to the dream elements few in number, yet they disclose the most important sets of impulses concerned in the neurosis of the patient.

The dream to be described was that of a woman thirty-six years of age, married thirteen years, sterile. The condition for which she sought treatment was an anxiety-hysteria, some of the symptoms being: an easily aroused anxiety and apprehension, gastric disturbances and constipation. The most pronounced characteristic traits were obstinacy, inordinate regularity in all things and a psychological difficulty in regard to money matters, though not miserliness. A well pronounced feeling of envy in regard to boys existed from her very early childhood, being later in life transferred to men. These scanty details may aid in the appreciation of the dream, which was as follows:

'I was up on the roof, standing against a fence; a hole in it. Some boys inserted something into my rectum; it was of wood. I knew that it belonged to a boy. I ran away, they stood and laughed at me. It was a joke on me. The wood was colored red and green. I was so ashamed, because I knew it belonged to a boy, and I was a girl.'

Addendum: 'I was small and young; I had no clothes on.'

The patient had met a woman the day preceding the night of the dream, whom she had not seen since the second year of the patient's marriage. The woman on the day of the meeting had

told the patient that a sister of the former had wished very much to have a child, and that after seventeen years of married life she had developed symptoms which had been diagnosed as a tumor, but which turned out to be a pregnancy, though it had afterwards terminated in an abortion, to the great disappointment of the woman.

On the day preceding the dream, the woman had also asked the patient if she had any children, to which the patient with mingled feelings of regret and shame had answered in the negative, adding 'and I do not know why.'

Associations to 'fence'. Suggests fence in the yards of houses in which patient lived in childhood; the intense pleasure derived from sitting on a fence, swinging her legs, as boys do; the great pleasure in climbing fences, as boys do.

Further associations to 'fence with hole' disclosed that, though the patient had for many years on account of a vaginal discharge been making frequent vaginal douches, she still had more difficulty in finding the vaginal orifice than the anal, though she rarely took an enema. Further associations brought out that her husband had often referred to the patient, as 'a piece of wood with a hole in it', on account of her sexual frigidity.

This group of associations indicates the patient's desire to do what boys do, her envy of boys, and the apparent transference of the libido to the anal, from the vaginal region. Associations to other parts of the dream contain references to the same material from more repressed sources.

Associations to 'wood inserted into rectum': patient stated that when speaking to the acquaintance on the day preceding the dream she had had a very strong desire to have a child herself, and that it was really the first time she had consciously wanted a child and regretted her sterility.

Associations to 'red and green' color of the object, are: red is blood; the bleeding that took place when the woman aborted. Red and green suggest little dolls that children play with. About two years ago the patient saw just such a doll in the hands of a child that was with its mother, who at the time was pregnant.

The reference above to one of the important dream elements, indicating the existence of material conscious to the patient from the time of its origin, concerns what the patient stated at this point; namely, her recollectien that she had since early childhood, between the ages four and five, thought that babies came from the

rectum; nor had she forgotten having seen, about the age of five or six, the sexual act in animals, and had based later sex conceptions on this incident; at about the age of eight years, the patient saw a cat give birth to kittens, and thought that they came from the rectum. This tended to strengthen the previously formed anal theory. All this material had always been conscious to the patient. The patient also recalled that at the time of witnessing the birth of the kittens, she saw blood issue with them. 'Green' in the dream is reinforced by the association of green with jealousy and cats, for which animals the patient has a very strong aversion. As she puts it, she 'hates cats'.

This group of associations has reference to the anal birth theory, and explains in a measure why the anal region is more familiar to the patient than the vaginal. The following will also help to explain the patient's ignorance concerning the latter region.

Further associations to the red and green object recall the patient as a child, how she thought that boys laughed at her for being thin and small; being present, at the age of three or four years[1] at a circumcision, and, after the people had left, examining with great interest and in secret, a small object on an ash tray which she thought was the cut off penis, but which she later decided was a heap of cigar ashes. At about the age of eight, on one occasion she examined the genitals of a younger brother, and noticed her own lack of an organ such as his. In the dream the patient remarks that she is ashamed, because she knew it belonged to a boy, and she is a girl. The patient also recalled that in her family there was always a great 'fuss' made when a boy was born, but the birth of a girl was passed over as of little account. The general feeling in the family was that 'boys were something', while girls were relegated to the background.

In all this the great envy on the part of the patient of boys because they possessed a penis is very evident, though this as such was not conscious to her. It is the other of the repressed elements of the dream above mentioned as not being conscious, while the former was from the time of its origin.

[1] It is likely that this incident took place at a somewhat later age, but other incidents recalled by the patient seem to fix this one somewhere between the years mentioned in the text. I wish to mention that the sequence of the associations as given in this report has been varied in places for the sake of clearness.

EXAMPLE OF DISPLACEMENT OF ORIGINAL AFFECT UPON PLAY

by

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A pretty example of how a child occupies or sublimates in its play feelings or impulses which it has been forcibly hindered from expressing in a cruder way recently came to my notice. A father was telling me the following story about his little son who is very headstrong. The boy is three years old, exceedingly sturdy, active, and aggressive, and must be almost constantly supervised on account of his surprising impulses. Last fall when his father and mother went to the cemetery for their yearly decoration of the family graves, they took the child with them. In one part of the family lot is a long slab lying horizontally and marking the location of graves of ancient members of the family. The parents of the child started to place flowers on this slab. He did not approve and vigorously threw on it a handful of earth which he had gathered from a neighboring newly made grave. Although told to stop, he kept pelting the slab with earth. As nearly as the father can remember, the boy was scolded, shaken, or slapped seven or eight times for persisting in this conduct. Finally his father had to hold him forcibly, while his mother finished decorating the graves. The child was very angry, although quiet on the way home and seemed to forget the incident by evening.

The next morning he went out-doors to play. His mother happened to look out of the window and saw that he had dragged a long board from the back to the side yard and placed it flat where the grass was especially green and thick. He then vigorously pelted the board with one handful of earth after another, until it was completely covered. Then he carefully brushed the earth away. His mother saw him do this four times, but he had been engaged in the occupation some time before she looked out. We make a guess that he pelted the board as many times as he had

been hindered from pelting the slab at the cemetery. He worked with great energy and earnestness. After cleaning the board thoroughly he left the spot with the air of having completed an important work and ran into another part of the yard to play. That he left the board clean speaks well for his social sense and feeling of confidence in his father's right to exercise authority. But the play represents a satisfied revenge against his father, probably also a compensation for the attention bestowed by his mother upon the graves, and a final method of getting his own way by symbolic play.

The dynamics appear to be the following. The Oedipus complex was manifested by a jealousy directed toward the object occupying his mother's attention—the grave-stone. The jealousy toward the grave-stone was an animistic survival, in that the child endowed the stone with a hostile personality, and expressed his jealousy and hatred by mud-slinging. The child's resentment at interference in his fighting aggressiveness was transformed into a fighting anger against his interfering father, which anger was gradually repressed by the external force of paternal authority. Since the repressing force continued, the manifest anger gradually passed into latent, seemed to die out entirely, and the whole incident to be forgotten. By an unconscious sublimation (the adjective is predicative) the original affect then effected an outlet in compensatory play.

TWO CONFINEMENT DREAMS OF A PREGNANT WOMAN

by

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1. 'I dreamt of a big sand-hill like the one in front of our house in W., only this one went up to a point. I had continually to walk round and round the point. I had the feeling: You must! I do not know whether I had to do it for practice or for some other reason. I kept looking down, and grasping firmly and anxiously in the sand with my hands. A road ran at the botton of the sand-hill, and there was water by the side of it. I was terribly giddy, just as I used to be in the mountains. As I was crawling about feeling that I was going to fall the hill suddenly opened, and I was drawn downwards as in a funnel. I felt I should be suffocated by the sand falling in on me. Instead, however, I felt that I was descending quickly, and I arrived at the bottom in an open space similar to a wide tube and close to the road. A restaurant was opposite in which people were drinking coffee. The whole situation reminded me of a mere where we often played when children. Then I awoke. My feeling was quite different from that after my other dreams of falling; I was quite easy and relieved'.

2. 'I was downstairs with our housekeeper in the kitchen. The domestic offices were the same as in T., but were in the basement, somewhat low, like ours. A few steps led up from it as though from a shaft, and I saw the sun shining into the passages. I wanted to go up into the dining-room to dinner and was afraid that you might scold me if I came too late as usual. But when I tried to come up the different exits I always had to return at the top step, because they were closed by something I could not explain. It was like a blind which moved of its own accord and through which I could only get my head, but stuck with my shoulders. Then I suddenly managed to force myself through one of the openings which yielded all of a sudden. Then I was in the side

entrance to the farmyard in T. out in the open in the sunlight. I had my brown dress on, and when I looked down to see if I was tidy to go into the dining-room I found the dress was crumpled in deep creases which were held together by burrs. This I felt was very unpleasant; it was like a spider's web which had clung to my dress from the passage. I thought I had made myself very dirty'.

I quote these dreams without analysis, since their interpretation is obvious from the condition of the dreamer. They furnish a proof of our conception of the dream thoughts that is independent of the analytic technique, and confirm the theory without imputing it to the analytical method of interpretation. The confinement took place four weeks later.

In both dreams the dreamer does not appear in the character of one about to give birth to a child, but it is as though she anxiously re-experiences the memory of her own birth and expresses it symbolically. The sand-hill and its colour of human skin obviously represent the pregnant abdomen out of which the dreamer enters on the way of life (the road) with feelings of anxiety. Stekel somewhere remarks that one's own birth is the first great anxiety attack in life. Indeed, if we think ourselves into the child's position at its own birth it is quite evident that this leaves behind a vivid impression, though without the possibility of picturing it clearly, as is the case in purely emotional memories. Anxiety and feelings of suffocation are associated with each other. The coffee for the midwife and the relatives in attendance after the great relief stands for the humour in the dream. The interpretation of the dream comes as it were at the end; the whole dream recalls the story of the stork who fetches little children from the marsh (the mere).

Also the second dream describes the feelings of the child about to be born, and not those of the mother. Arriving too late for dinner has its meaning—her previous child came into the world very late. The process of birth is described very characteristically —the head pressing forward and receding, and the difficulty of the passage. The fact that the different passages led into the open is an allusion to infantile sexual theories. As soon as the newborn child has arrived it is near the anal orifice (the farmyard). The whole situation of the dream is located in the lower regions of the body (the domestic offices), where the alimentary process

is cared for. The brown dress represents the newly born child smeared with meconium. The child's skin is often creased after the birth and does not appear presentable.

Dreams of this kind are often better suited to prove the justification of our dream psychology than a profound analysis of difficult dream material.

COLLECTIVE REVIEW

SEXUAL PERVERSIONS

by

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Frank (9) describes a number of cases of perversions which he has treated during a half sleep state. He found that memories of events that had had a harmful effect on the development of childhood and puberty could be reawakened quickly and without difficulty during hypnosis. The semi-conscious problems and phantasies aroused by external events, the sexual theories of earliest childhood, could not be made conscious. Therefore the investigation in these cases was only a superficial one.

The case of a young girl who showed a number of perverse traits is described in the 'Beobachtung eines Falles von erotischer Perversion mit Neurose' (The observation of a case of erotic perversion with neurosis) (28). The patient's father was a drinker. She herself was of a very infantile disposition and addicted to

pathological lying. When she was eighteen years old she was persuaded on one occasion only to sexual intercourse, which resulted in her becoming pregnant. From that time she experienced nausea at any sexual advance on the part of a man, and also showed marked prudishness with regard to having her neck and arms bare. This prudishness changed into a pronounced exhibitionism at moments of sexual excitement. Observationism was marked in her youth, but later was completely repressed. There was a strong skin and muscle erotism in connection with the exhibitionism, but the vaginal mucous membrane was completely anaesthetic. The patient also showed pronounced masochistic traits. Men under forty years of age had absolutely no attraction for her. Two years after the birth of her child she gave way to alcohol, obviously following her father's example. She was an only daughter and loved her father greatly. The author traced the morbid phenomena to a number of painful impressions in her childhood. Unfortunately it was not possible to carry out a thorough analysis. The case is interesting theoretically from its admixture of neurotic and perverse elements.

Freud has made a number of important allusions to the perversions in his 'Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die Psychoanalyse' (13), in his remarks on dreams (S. 232), and particularly in his theory of the neuroses (see S. 346, 354, 360, 370, 389, 396, 402, 409, 415). Freud's remark in the third edition of the 'Drei Abhandlungen' (10) (S. 91) seems to me of great importance as regards therapeutic influence over the perversions. 'These latter, i.e. perversions, are not merely to be traced back to the fixation of infantile tendencies, but also to regression to the tendencies in consequence of the damming of certain currents in the sexual stream. It is for this reason that the positive perversions are accessible to psycho-analytic therapy'.

Riklin's work 'Zur psychoanalytischen Auffassung des Sadismus' (On the psycho-analytic conception of sadism) (18) has really nothing to do with psycho-analysis. The 'causal' method of consideration is contrasted with the 'final' one.

Federn investigates the libidinous sources of masochism in the second part of his work (6). He separates the concepts 'female' and 'masochistic', and 'passive' and 'masochistic' from one another. The term masochism—in contrast to the passive sexual components—should only be used if sexual pleasure is obtained

from non-sexual suffering. In the same way he distinguishes sadism from the active sexual components; the source of the sexual pleasure is displaced from the sphere of sexual activity to the sphere of aggression. The sadist does not obtain sexual end-pleasure by using force or causing pain in taking sexual possession; his pleasure lies solely in the taking possession or excitation of pain itself. The author does not regard masochism simply as the persistence of an infantile sexual activity, nor is he content merely to point out the erotogenicity of certain zones and the nature of the perverse partial impulses in childhood which lead to masochism. According to his view masochism results from the fixation of definite infantile partial impulses; but he attempts to establish more precisely the causes of their fixation and the conditions under which they assume the masochistic character. These infantile components are re-awakened in masochism. The same process occurs in sadism, but with an opposite tendency. In sadism active components of the normal sexuality re-awaken erotic and other infantile partial impulses. Passive components are necessary for the development of masochism. Both tendencies go back to causes which, in spite of their antithesis, existed simultaneously beside each other and can be summated.

The author has established the view that an active sexual sensation belongs to the sadistic sexual feeling, and a passive one to the masochistic sexual feeling. In many of his cases there was not only a difference in the quality of the sensation, but also its somatic localisation in the male genital was different in the two conditions. In extreme masochists the surface of the penis is sexually quite anaesthetic; the masochistic excitation is localised in the perineum. In sadists and normal individuals it is located in the glans. Masochism only appears when the passive sexual sensation communicates its own character of passive pleasure to the whole ego, and the ego feels itself identified with its organ in reference to the pleasurable passivity. Masochism is possession and control of the whole personality by the passively directed libido. The masochist has not only passive sexual experience as regards his sex organ, but also as a whole, therefore in other organs and spheres.

In order to show the libidinous sources of masochism the author divides the different aims of the libidinous strivings into action-libido and passion-libido. Libido that is directed to a passive

aim proceeds from all those organs whose gratification is associated with a passive process. These partial impulses supply passion libido.

The author comes to the conclusion that masochism has to be considered as the result and expression of the primacy of passive partial impulses. If the sum of the latter is sufficiently strong, then they are in the position to overcome the other activities of the individual, and discharge themselves by unconscious mechanisms in passive situations in the sexual sphere, whereby the individual experiences passive sexual feelings. But since the active attitude is connected with penis libido (genital libido) by similar mechanisms, the disturbance of the activity which gives rise to masochism is expressed in the man by an inhibition of libidinal penis sensations; thus in masochists the passive sensations in the erotogenic zones corresponding to the female sexuality appear in the foreground, while the male organ becomes sexually anaesthetic.

The only fault in Federn's work is the omission of any reference to the pregenital organisation stages of the development of the libido. Otherwise it contains the kernel, or at least the first steps towards our present views. Freud considers that the skin of the body is always the primary seat of masochistic practice. Ferenczi supposes that in masochism a secondary and henceforth neurotic process leads to the repression of the normal genital impulses and to a regression towards the (by this time genitalised) original skin masochism. He calls this the primitive masochism.

With reference to masochism and sadism the following new remarks are to be found in Freud's 'Drei Abhandlungen' (10) (S. 23). Strictly speaking only extreme attitudes should be called perversion-attitudes in which gratification is associated exclusively with suffering or the causing of physical or mental pain. Masochism seems to be farther removed from the normal sexual aim than its counterpart sadism, and is not a primary condition but originates from sadism. It is sadism turned upon one's own person, which stands in the place of the sexual object.

Freud's study, 'Ein Kind wird geschlagen' (A child is being beaten) (12), adds considerably to our knowledge of the origin of masochism and sadism. Patients who are under treatment for hysteria or obsessional neuroses very frequently admit this phantasy.

Feelings of pleasure are associated with it; and at its height it is very frequently accompanied by onanistic gratification. The patient is usually very unwilling to admit this phantasy, and the memory of its first appearance is decidedly uncertain. The first phantasy of this nature generally occurs very early, about the fifth or sixth year of life. The influence of school was so evident that the patients were tempted to trace their beating phantasy exclusively to impressions received at this time; but in reality the phantasy had existed before the school period. In the higher school classes this phantasy received new stimuli from reading books like 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', etc. Looking on when a child is being beaten in school never produced the same pleasure as that of the phantasy; also in the more refined phantasies of later years it was a condition that the chastised children did not receive serious injury. The persons who produced the material for this analysis had not been educated with the help of the cane. The only answer received to a closer inquiry into the content of this phantasy was: 'I know nothing more about it: A child is being beaten.' Under these circumstances it cannot at first be decided whether the beating phantasy denotes a sadistic or masochistic attitude.

Such a phantasy of autoerotic gratification emerging in the early years of childhood can only be looked upon as a primary characteristic of a perversion. One of the components of the sexual function has preceded the others in development, made itself prematurely independent, and become fixed, thereby indicating a particular peculiarity in the constitution of the person. When we find in adults a sexual aberration we quite rightly expect to discover by means of an anamnestic investigation such a 'fixing' occurrence of childhood. The significance of the 'fixing' impressions is found in the fact that they have offered to the prematurely developed and overactive sexual components the cause, an (accidental) occasion, for the fixation. The actual constitution seems to correspond to such a view. A prematurely detached sadistic sexual component suggests a disposition to an obsessional neurosis. This idea was borne out in the investigation of six cases.

An analysis carried back into early childhood shows that this phantasy, which first appears after the fifth year of life, has a complicated previous history. During the course of the phantasy it more than once changes its relation to the person producing

the phantasy, its object, content, and significance. The content of a primary and very early phase of the beating phantasy in female persons is: 'The father beats the child', or more fully, 'The father beats the child I hate'. This phantasy is certainly not masochistic, neither is it definitely sadistic, because the child creating the phantasy does not do the beating itself. The second phase has never been conscious; it is a necessary construction of the analysis. Great alterations have taken place between it and the first phase. Literally the second phase is: 'I am beaten by my father'. This has undoubtedly a masochistic character. The third phase resembles the first, except that the child producing the phantasy substitutes for the father a person representing him (teacher) who does the beating, and (in the phantasy of girls) several boys are beaten instead of one child. The phantasy is now the bearer of a strong and definitely sexual excitation, and leads to onanistic gratification.

An analysis carried back into that early period shows that the little girl is occupied with the excitations of the parental complex; she is affectionately fixed on her father. But there are other children in the nursery with whom she has to share her parent's love, and on account of this she casts them aside. If she has a younger brother or sister then he or she is hated and despised. It is soon seen that the being beaten signifies a denial of love and a humiliation; it is a comforting idea that the father beats a hated child. Therefore the content and significance of the beating phantasy in the first phase is: 'The father does not love this other child, he only loves me'. It is doubtful if it can be called a pure 'sadistic' or a pure 'sexual' phantasy, but it is composed of the material of both. In no case need we assume an excitation associated with phantasies leading to an onanistic act. In this premature object choice of incestuous love the sexual life of the child obviously reaches the stage of the genital organisation. The incestuous amourousness is repressed, because it is its fate to perish, probably because its time limit has expired, for children now enter into a new phase of development in which it is necessary for them to repeat from the history of mankind the repression of the incestuous object choice, in the same way as they had been previously compelled to make such object choice. A guilty conscience appears simultaneously with this process of repression. The phantasy of the incestuous love period had said:

'He (the father) only loves me, not the other child, that's why he beats it'. The guilty conscience cannot find a more severe punishment than the reversal of this triumph: 'No, he does not love you, for he beats you'. The phantasy of the second phase, to be beaten by the father, now appears as the expression of the guilty conscience to which the love for the father succumbs. It has therefore become masochistic. As far as I know this is always the case; the guilty conscience is always the factor which changes sadism into masochism. But this is certainly not the whole content of the masochism. The guilty conscience cannot alone have taken complete possession; the love impulse must also have its share. Since the phantasy concerns children in whom the sadistic components could stand out prematurely and isolated on constitutional grounds, a regression to the pregenital, sadistic-anal organisation of the sexual life is particularly easy. When the scarcely reached genital organisation is affected by repression, then not only does every psychic representation of the incestuous love remain unconscious, but the genital organisation itself experiences a regressive diminution. For instance, 'the father loves me', was meant in a genital sense; but through regression it is changed into, 'The father beats me (I am beaten by the father)'. This being beaten is now a union of guilty conscience and erotism; it is not only punishment for the forbidden genital relation, but also its regressive substitute, and it obtains from this latter source libidinal excitations which henceforth are attached to it, and are discharged in onanistic acts. The second phase of the beating phantasy is as a rule unconscious, and in consequence, onanism that has appeared during this period is under the control of unconscious phantasies which are replaced by the beating phantasies of the third phase.

We look upon this third phase of the beating phantasy as such a substitute, i.e. the final formation in which the child producing the phantasy appears as the on-looker while the father is represented by the teacher or other person in authority. The phantasy which is now similar to the first phase seems to have turned again into a sadistic one. It gives the impression, 'The father beats the other child, he loves only me'; the accent has gone back to the first part after the second has succumbed to repression. Only the form of the phantasy is sadistic, the gratification obtained from it is a masochistic one; its significance

lies in the fact that it has taken over the libidinal charge of the repressed portion and also with this the guilty conscience attached to the content. All the many indefinite children who are beaten by the teacher are only substitutes for the person himself (or herself).

These observations are of service for the explanation of the genesis of perversions in general, and of masochism in particular. These views do not invalidate the conception which puts in the foreground the constitutional strengthening of a sexual component in perversions, they merely amplify it. The perversion no longer stands as an isolated fact in the sexual life of the child, but is brought into connection with the typical processes of development. It is brought into relation with the incestuous object love of the child, the Oedipus complex; it first appears at the basis of this complex, and after the basis is broken up, the perversion often remains as an inheritance of the libidinal charge of the complex and burdened with the attached guilty conscience. It seems possible that all infantile perversions have their origin in the Oedipus complex. The 'first occurrence' is fixed by the perverse person at a time in which the control of the Oedipus complex had already passed; the effective event remembered in such a mysterious manner could very well represent the inheritance. Just as the Oedipus complex is the kernel of the neuroses, so in a similar way the beating phantasies and other analogous perverse fixations are only deposits of the Oedipus complex, as it were scars after the expired process, the notorious 'inferiority' corresponds to such a narcissistic scar[1].

The discussion of the beating phantasies only furnishes a meagre contribution to the genesis of masochism. It seems to be established that masochism is not a primary expression of an impulse, but originates from a turning back of sadism upon one's own person, a regression from the object to the ego. It is of course true that we find impulses with passive aims from the beginning, particularly in women, but passivity is not the whole of masochism; there is still to be accounted for the pain character which is so strange in the fulfilment of an instinct. The transformation of sadism into masochism seems to occur through the influence of the guilty conscience that accompanies the act of

[1] Cf. Marcinowski: 'Die erotischen Quellen der Minderwertigkeitsgefühle', *Zeitschr. für Sexualwissenschaft*, IV, 1918.

repression. The repression expresses itself in three ways. It makes unconscious the results of the genital organisation, forces them to regress to the early sadistic-anal stage, and changes their sadism into the passive, and in a certain sense again narcissistic, masochism. The second of these results is rendered possible by the weakness of the genital organisation which may be assumed in these cases. The third result becomes necessary because the guilty conscience objects to the sadism in a manner similar to the genitally conceived incestuous object choice.

The second phantasy, the unconscious and masochistic phase, to be oneself beaten by the father, is far more important; its effects, which are directly derived from its unconscious setting, are shown in the character of the person. Human beings who bear within them such a phantasy develop a particular sensitiveness and irritability towards persons whom they can regard as 'fathers'.

I shall refrain from dealing with the second part of Freud's work which described corresponding conditions in boys, in order not to complicate the picture of the connections between perversions and the Oedipus complex.

Von Hattingberg in his article, 'Analerotik, Angstlust und Eigensinn', (Anal Erotism, Pleasure in Anxiety, and Obstinacy) (15), critically, though hesitatingly, discusses Freud's view that orderliness, parsimony and obstinacy are connected with anal erotism in childhood. His views are built up from his own experiences and from examples which are apparently unanalysed and unconvincing. By 'anxiety pleasure', i. e. a 'mixed'—'agreeable-disagreeable'—feeling, the author understands the sexual pleasure which arises from anxiety. He considers 'anxiety pleasure' has a somatic origin.

Stekel under an unfortunately chosen title, 'Ein Fall von Analerotik (Priapismus)' (A case of anal erotism [priapism]) (23), describes the case of a man, fifty-four years old, who for years had suffered from nocturnal erections. The erections were produced by a phantasy, but the author does not explain its origin.

Strasser in his article 'Zur forensischen Begutachtung des Exhibitionismus' (27) gives the history of two exhibitionists, but omits the details of their early childhood. He endeavours to bring the explanation of these cases into line with Adler's views.

A case of fetishism is described by H. von Hug-Hellmuth, (16). The sexual feelings of a lady, who took no interest in men

and obtained no gratification in normal sexual intercourse, were quite consciously directed upon boots, particularly Jack-boots worn by men, and the foot in the boot, especially the toes. Her father was an officer and she had been very interested in his Jack-boots from early youth. She became engaged to an officer who was thirty years her senior, 'because he had such delightful feet'. Later she fell in love with a very ugly and elderly officer, 'I am dying of love for the most delightful Jack-boots I have ever seen'. This ended in an unfortunate marriage. Bare feet filled her with disgust. 'If I only imagine to myself the big toe it fills me with disgust; and the nails which are always crumpled, and the little toes which can never grow, these are horrible to me'. When she was twenty years old she suddenly cast aside a young officer whom she had preferred on account of the above attraction, because she noticed him moving his toes in his boot when he was sitting beside her. She declined the wooing of another because he had 'bunions'. The case was not analysed, but an explanation is attempted from the material given. When she was ten years old she had wished for high-legged boots. This wish was probably on account of her identification with her beloved father, and the strong desire to be a boy (foot = penis), and not purely from narcissism. The lady's attitude towards the bare foot seems to be of special significance. The foot is a symbol of and substitute for the penis. At some time or another her attention must have been directed to the male, that is to say paternal, genital, and this became repressed and transferred to the foot. In its rôle as a penis substitute it had to be concealed and special demands were made of its covering in the interest of the idealisation of the object, for instance, newness (which perhaps signifies integrity) and freedom from creases; hence the qualification 'delightfully respectable' applied to Jack-boots. Probably ideas of castration played a part in her horror of crumpled toes and nails. The masochistic factor is quite evident: 'One can tremble before Jack-boots, and yet one has to love them'.

Freud has made two new remarks apropos of fetishism in his 'Drei Abhandlungen' (10) (S. 19, 21). 'This weakness would derive from a constitutional disposition. Psycho-analysi s shown that premature sexual intimidation which diverts the normal sexual aim and stimulates its substitute is an accidental condition.' 'In many cases of foot fetishism it can be shown that the

impulse to look was originally directed upon the genitals, which impulse wished to get near to its object from below but was prevented by prohibition and repression, and for this reason the foot or shoe is retained as a fetish. The female genital would be represented as a male one in accordance with the infantile idea.'

Stekel in his work, 'Zur Psychologie und Therapie des Fetischismus' (25), gives the 'analyses' of two cases of fetishism. The author explains his method of procedure as follows. 'I will now quote one of the many dreams of this patient. It affords us a deep insight into the structure of the neurosis and the motive of this fetishism. I might add that I at first carried through the analysis without associations from the patient, and afterwards *under my guidance*[1] the patient produced the material belonging to the dream. This analysis is a brilliant proof that one does not get far in the majority of dreams by using Freud's methods. My methods have to be adopted if one wishes to obtain new knowledge. It is certainly easier to await the associations of the dreamer, than to arrive at the correct interpretation through one's own ideas. But it is not everybody who has the gift of this dream interpretation'. In the detailed 'analysis' of a long dream there is not one association of the patient and it is never evident whether the ideas are the patient's or Stekel's interpretations. The author comes to the conclusion that both cases are 'Christ neuroses', for the cure of which there is only one way, marriage, 'because here coitus is no longer a sin'. The author states that fetishism is a substitute for religion. The fetishist is offered a new religion in the form of a perversion which gratifies his desire for belief. It originates from a compromise between an over-powerful sexuality and a strong piety. However, all this has nothing to do with psycho-analysis.

Adler's 'Das Problem der Homesexualität' (1) has already been criticised by Federn. It is simply a recapitulation of the views expressed in 'Über den Nervösen Character'.

Friedjung in his article 'Schamhaftigkeit als Maske der Homosexualität' (Prudishness as a mask of homosexuality) (14), describes the case of a man aged thirty-nine who, on account of his homosexuality, refused to undress before the doctor. 'The trouble is, the doctor is dressed during the examination, if he were naked then it would be all right'.

[1] Reviewer's italics.

R. Senf in his article, 'Psychosexuelle Intuition' (22) repeats his theory of the origin of homosexuality in order to show his method of 'Psycho-Sexual Intuition'. Perversions originate from the splitting up of the sex act into the 'single impressions' of which it is composed. Male homosexuality is derived from 'the single impression of the excitation'. Senf disagrees entirely with Hirschfeld's idea of homosexuality that it is a biological variant. He considers that it is a developmental product which appears as an inborn and finished disposition.

'Psycho-Sexual Intuition' is based on 'inner experience'. 'The results of chemical or biological investigation originate from a world which has nothing at all to do with the sphere of inner experience.' Psychical processes can only be conceived 'intuitively', and for this a 'disposition' is necessary in order to discover in oneself psychical possibilities, to yield to them, to get near to them, to note their gliding into one another, and also to perceive their relations to each other, and finally to find them again in all related and imaginable nuances. This concerns a kind of 'sensation mathematics' the conscious experience of psychic results and their application.

Blüher's work, 'Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft' (2) has already been criticised by Eisler. It is intended to prove the views expressed in his earlier works on Inversion ['Zur Theorie der Inversion' (3), 'Studien über den perversen Charakter' (5), and 'Die drei Grundformen der sexuellen Inversion' (4)]. The work is useful to psycho-analysts to enlarge their knowledge concerning the extent of repressed homosexual tendencies in many social circles. Blüher repeatedly uses the words 'analysis' and 'to analyse' in quite a different meaning to the psycho-analytic. Blüher's treatment of homosexuality is very similar to Magnus Hirschfeld's adaptation therapy; he ceases to analyse where we begin.

Sadger's 'Ketzergedanken über Homosexualität' (19) is a criticism and refutation of Magnus Hirschfeld's views on homosexuality.

Sadger summarises his new experiences on male inversion in his article 'Neue Forschungen zur Homosexualität' as follows:

1. The urning behaves towards female sexual objects like the psychically impotent person who is incapable because he is fixed on his mother or more rarely his sister.

2. A part of his specific constitution lies in the fact that, on

the one hand, his muscle erotism is diminished from the outset, while on the other hand, his genital libido and the sexual pleasure in looking—this latter being particularly directed to the sex organs—are considerably increased.

3. Very frequently the already over-strong genital libido is further increased by stimuli coming from the father who loves his offspring to excess.

4. An over-estimation of the male genital pursues the urning like a demon.

5. For similar reasons there exists a particular pleasure in handling the penis. The typical 'corruptors' are for the most part 'absolutely' homosexual.

6. The over-emphasis of the genital libido without exception leads to early amourousness towards the opposite sex, above all the mother or her early representative.

7. The mother's sharp repulse occasions his first disappointment; the second is the missing of the penis in the mother, which he feels more acutely than normal children.

8. When in maturity he again experiences a disappointment *in sexualibus* through the mother, he becomes fixed on his own sex by means of regression to the primarily loved mother with the penis.

9. This regression enables him to give and receive the two strongest sensations of love of every man, i. e. love of the mother and of the ego. This accounts for the urning's fixation on the man.

The whole article contains much that is of value for those interested in the problem of inversion.

In the first part of Sadger's article 'Allerlei Gedanken zur Psychopathia sexualis' (21) he divides homosexuals into three groups. (1) Homosexuals who prefer men of the same age. (2) Those who prefer younger men or youths. (3) Those who have a decided preference for older and even quite old men. Sadger endeavours to explain these groups from the study of a case of dementia paranoides in a patient twenty-five years old. This patient portrayed all the three groups in himself. He conducted himself passively towards older men who represented his father, wishing to be embraced, kissed and finally coitised by them, in a similar manner to that which he had often seen in the case of his father and mother. He conducted himself actively towards men of his own age, who clearly represented his mother in appearance,

wishing to coitise them like his father and thereby fulfil an old wish of childhood. Towards younger men or youths who represented himself in earlier years he was accustomed to play the rôle of the mother. This scheme is a typical one. The homosexual does not really wish for the man, but for the woman with the penis (his mother). 'The first sensations of pleasure received by the new-born child are from sucking at its mother's breast. This pleasure consists of two feelings, namely, the pacifying of hunger, and the stimulation of an important erotogenic zone—the mouth.' 'Many neurotics regard the placing of the nipple in the mouth as a sexual act with the mother. In their childhood they considered that the mother possessed a breast-penis with which she coitised the little boy.' Sadger also explains cunnilingus and fellatio on the basis of this primitive coitus. (The second part of Sadger's article I have not been able to obtain.)

Ferenczi in his article 'Zur Nosologie der männlichen Homosexualität (Homoerotik)' (8), describes two different types of homosexuality, namely, the active and the passive. He uses the term 'homo-erotic', first employed by F. Karsch-Haack instead of 'homosexuality' in order to call particular attention to the psychical side of the impulse. The term 'invert' should only be used where there is a 'pure anomaly of development', an actual reversal of normal psychical and physical characteristics. This condition cannot be influenced by psycho-analysis or any other psychotherapeutic measures. A man who in intercourse with men feels himself a woman is inverted in relation to his own ego (homo-erotic through subject inversion or 'subject-homo-erotic'). The 'active homosexual' feels himself a man in every relation; only the object is changed, i. e. he is an 'object-homo-erotic.' In the early history of the subject-homo-erotic we already find signs of inversion. As a little child he creates phantasies of being in his mother's place, and not in that of his father; he wishes the death of his mother, and early shows various girlish traits.

Object-homo-erotics are true obsessional neurotics. Their obsessional ideas abound in obsessional protective procedures and ceremonies. The characteristic lack of balance in love and hate is found in them. Object-homo-erotism is a true neurotic compulsion, with logically irreversible substitution of normal sexual aims and actions by abnormal ones. Their early history is as follows: precocious heterosexual aggression, 'normal' Oedipus

phantasies, severe punishment on account of hetero-erotic offences in earliest childhood. Analysis shows that an object-homo-erotic unconsciously knows how to love the woman in a man. The active-homo-erotic act appears on the one hand as subsequent (false) obedience, which avoids intercourse with women, but indulges the forbidden hetero-erotic desires in unconscious phantasies; on the other hand the paederastic act serves the purpose of the original Oedipus phantasy and denotes the injuring and sullying of the man. Ferenczi in designating object-homo-erotism as a neurotic symptom comes into opposition with Freud, who in his 'Sexualtheorie' describes homosexuality as a perversion, neuroses on the contrary as the negative of perversions. However, according to Ferenczi the contradiction is only apparent. 'Perversions', i. e. tarrying at primitive or preparatory sexual aims, can very well be placed at the disposal of neurotic repression tendencies also, a part of true (positive) perversion, neurotically exaggerated, representing at the same time the negative of another perversion. Now this is the case with 'object-homo-erotism'. The homo-erotic component, which is never absent even normally, gets here overengaged with masses of affect, which in the unconscious relate to another, repressed perversion, namely, a hetero-erotism of such strength as to be incapable of becoming conscious. In a purely theoretical respect Ferenczi seems to me to take up an essentially new point of view regarding the perversions.

Freud, in a new foot-note in his 'Drei Abhandlungen' (10) (S. 12/13), very decidedly expresses himself against considering homosexuals as a special group of human beings. All human beings are capable of object choice towards the same sex and have accomplished this in their unconscious. That object choice is not dependent upon the sex of the object seems to be the original tendency. The normal as well as the inversion type is developed from this original tendency through restriction. The inversion types show throughout the predominance of archaic constitutions and primitive psychic mechanisms. Their chief characteristics are narcissistic object choice and erotic significance of the anal zone. In childhood the absence of a strong father frequently favours inversion.

Freud's analysis, 'Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci' (11), when it appeared furnished the greatest contribution to our knowledge of homosexuality.

BOOK REVIEWS

PSYCHOANALYSE UND SOZIOLOGIE. Zur Psychologie von Masse und Gesellschaft. By Aurel Kolnai. (Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, Vienna, 1920. Pp. 152. Price 2s. 6d.)

The book consists of two main parts, the first dealing with the sociological results of Psycho-Analysis, the second with the possibilities of Psycho-Analysis in the field of sociology.

The first part, which is sub-divided into several chapters, endeavours to draw a distinction between the results gained by direct observation of society itself and those gained by observation of the individual. Psycho-Analysis, working with entirely new methods, might be expected to produce new results. Its research into the sphere of sex has thrown light on the formation of primitive society and at the same time on the dissolution of it. Can Psycho-Analysis play any great part in sociological science? The question is answered in the negative; as Psycho-Analysis occupies itself only with the individual it cannot possibly play an important part in the science of society. Nevertheless, the aim of Psycho-Analysis, though it started only as a purely therapeutic one, has become wider and wider. It coincides with the aim of politics, namely to make the individual better adapted to his surroundings, his conditions, in short to his *milieu*. Any reform of sexual and family life (a sociological question) can only be successful when helped by psychoanalytical insight.

Psycho-Analysis has reached three important results for sociology: the research into Race Psychology, into Primitive Society and into the Connection between the Individual and Society. This last point comprises the vast fields of Pedagogics and Family Life.

Psycho-Analysis is able to explain primitive processes, not however the differentiated ones. Collective ideas on a low level, being the sum of individual thought, can be explained by these methods. The neuroses are regressions to that level.

Sexuality forms the most important link between the two sciences, since it can be observed in both the individual and society. The central question of incest, the feeling towards the father, changing from hate to ambivalency, is the beginning of social conflict. Psycho-Analysis by its methodical investigation of the unconscious mind has rendered the most valuable services to Sociology. For, although the unconscious

mind seems a-social, as one cannot express or communicate unconscious conflicts, it reveals itself clearly in the actions of the individual and society. The content of the unconscious mind, forbidden wishes, leads when incompletely repressed to neurosis, to flight from society. By making those unconscious wishes conscious and helping thereby to overcome those tendencies hostile to society, Psycho-Analysis is of the greatest importance for social politics.

The second part, on the Possibilities of Psycho-Analysis, suggests possible ways for Sociology to make more use of the results gained by psycho-analytical research. Psycho-Analysis has always ascribed the greatest value to the surroundings of the individual and its effect on his character. By extending those investigations and grouping them carefully according to Race, Profession, Financial Conditions, and by carefully working out the material statistically, a wide field of new knowledge opens for Sociology. An analysis of the character of the English, for example, has been ventured by Maeder.

On the Psychology of Social Movements Psycho-Analysis with its new methods is bound to reach deeper than any other science. An analysis on those lines is here attempted with the social movement of Anarcho-Communism. After defining this conception, Kolnai explains Anarchism as a regression to the murder of the father. Through being a regression, and not a development, it is doomed to failure. It is not the strife of men, but the struggle of children.

Communism, on the other hand, is less hostile to law; it allows an authority, a father. Communism is the social movement of the workman. In its earliest stages it shows a distinct longing to return to Mother Earth (Physiocrats) which can easily be understood from the feeling of the workman, living far from the country and without the possibility of seeing it. In this stage, with its doctrine: Work according to Ability, Food according to Needs, it has a striking resemblance to the childish principle of getting the most with the smallest amount of discomfort. It is not designed to develop strength and will power by exertion. In its further development, where it recognizes authority, Communism rises from an infantile movement to the struggle of youths.

The task of following and expounding the author's ideas is made extremely difficult by the richness of the material worked into a small book and also by the way this material is used. The author seems to deal with subjects in the order—or better disorder—in which they occur to him. There is no trace of a plan. Some of his statements would be very surprising to students of Political Economy, such as the one that Psycho-Analysis was the first to give its due importance to the surrounding *milieu* conditions of the individual. One is not sure whether to attribute the superficial, and in parts ridiculous, character sketch of the English to the author or to Maeder from whom it is taken. The

definitions of Anarchism and Communism are, though very long, by no means complete. What he describes as a childish impulse, to get most with the smallest amount of work, is usually considered to be the reigning economic principle. However, Kolnai himself describes the book as nothing more than a sketch. It is impossible to deal adequately with such an enormous amount of material in a small book; on the last twenty pages he starts on an analysis of Marxism, Bolshevism and the effects of the War on society. Nevertheless the book is full of ideas and most interesting, though far from easy reading. Some more knowledge of sociological and economic literature, a more fluent and coherent style and a strict plan to coordinate the rich flow of ideas would make an excellent book of what is now only an interesting sketch. A table of contents as well as an index would be a great improvement.

KATHERINE JONES.

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CONCEPT OF REPRESSION. By Girindrasheklar Bose, M.B., D.Sc., Lecturer in Psycho-Analysis and Abnormal Psychology at the University of Calcutta. (Bose, Calcutta, 1921, Pp. 223. Price Rs. 10.)

This must be the first work on psycho-analysis written by an Indian, and we note with interest that it reveals a considerable knowledge of the subject. The author tells us that he has been practising psycho-analysis since 1909, and although he has no access to writings in the German language, and evidently only to a certain number of those in English, he gives evidence of considerable personal experience as well as of careful thought.

In the first chapter or two the author explains his position as a pan-psychic determinist, a doctrine he applies thoroughly. He has chosen repression as the title of his book and as the main theme in it because in his opinion 'Freud's concept of repression is perhaps the most important contribution to psychopathology'. He then expounds the subject of repression, of conflict, and of allied themes familiar to the readers of this JOURNAL. In it he lays especial, and unwonted stress on the tendency to polarity in the human mind. The book is extensively illustrated by diagrams, which will doubtless be useful to the beginner.

E. J.

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THE HYSTERIA OF LADY MACBETH. By Isador H. Coriat, M.D. (The Four Seas Company, Boston. Second Edition, 1920. Pp. 95. Price 1.25 dollars.)

The first half of this little brochure consists of a brief account of psycho-

analysis and its applications in the field of literature, the second of a psycho-analysis of the character of Lady Macbeth. The author is at considerable pains to shew that the figure of Lady Macbeth represents a type of hysteria, and that her somnambulic activities signified mental dissociation, not sleep proper. Sadger's work on Somnambulism is not mentioned. The diagnosis of Lady Macbeth's mental state culminates in the conclusion that her sexual energies, thwarted by her barrenness, were transformed into ambition, and that this came into conflict with 'repressed cowardice'. Cowardice, like any other form of fear, may be inhibited, but it is not a primary content of the unconscious, so that one can hardly speak of it as repressed in the psycho-analytic sense: it is, of course, a reaction to some deeper content of the unconscious. The whole study is very slight, but readably written. It is a pity that the author was not able to refer to the profound analyses of the same character published by Freud and Jekels.

E. J.

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Die Diktatur der Liebe (The Dictatorship of Love). By Th. Zell. (Hoffmann & Campe, Hamburg-Berlin, 1919.)

This book really gives what its sub-title promises, 'New insight into the sex life of human beings and animals'. The author has arrived at some new and far-reaching ideas as the result of observations carried out for many years. His explanations have not been biassed by any prevailing theories, and he advances his views in opposition to those found in the special literature on the subject which he has closely studied. Many of his explanations of a teleological nature, for example the reason he gives for the appearance of albinos, can only be proved after further discussion and investigation. Most of his conclusions, however, are evident from the material he brings forward.

There is a great deal in this book of interest to us, especially the insight into the mental life of animals that is obtained from an understanding of their sexual biology; and the fact that their habits of life are conditioned by their sexual life much more than has hitherto been supposed. His descriptions are tinged with humour, and the joy that he takes in living nature is communicated to the reader. Sexuality is described without prudery and quite openly. Many ideas are in accord with psycho-analytical views. For instance, Zell constantly emphasises and makes use of the principle that the habits and mental life of domestic animals can be correctly explained only if a study is made of the conditions of life of these animals in their original and wild state, or at least of a species closely related to them. Moreover, Zell explains in an original manner peculiarities in human beings from comparison

with the conditions of life and instincts of the human apes. In the same way psycho-analysis shows that the psyche of civilised people is only to be understood from a knowledge of primitive man; however, the analogy is not complete, because the so-called primitive peoples are relatively highly civilised.

It is remarkable how many false ideas are removed by the consistent consideration of the organisation of the senses, by observing whether the sense of smell predominates, whether the eyes are the dominant sense organs, or whether they are night or day animals. The sexual constitution is bound up with the constitution of the senses and from this all the habits of love are explained. We learn from this comparative sexual biology that the erotogenic zones of the excretory organs are very highly developed in all animals that have a keen sense of smell. In animals who orient themselves and recognise friends and foes by means of smell—in the second instance by hearing—and only finally or not at all by sight, the love-play of their fore-pleasure is carried out by nose and tongue as organs of choice and enjoyment; and in them the genital and anal region and their excretions are objects of fore-pleasure and individual choice. In animals in which the sense of sight predominates, for instance, birds and beasts of prey, we see nothing of this; their fore-pleasure is obtained by sight and hearing. In all animals with a predominant sense of smell the excretions of the bladder and bowels fulfil a second and from a biological point of view exceedingly important task; they serve as posts of love to enable rutting animals some distance from one another to scent and find one another. The pollakiuria of dogs, for instance, serves this purpose, though naturally it is superfluous in their domesticated state, and is only explicable as a traditional post of love.

It is very probable that the human being, who is an animal in whom the sense organ of sight predominates, has descended from animals in which smell is the dominant sense. The sense of smell still plays a great part in the sexual life of many apes. In human beings the sense of smell as an organ of orientation has lost very much of its importance, but it still plays a considerable rôle in love choice and fore-pleasure. A perverse association of smell and sexuality, as far as it concerns constitutional conditions, thus appears as an atavism that does not reach back very far. Psycho-analytical experience directly shows this connection, for cunnilingus intensified to a perversion is very frequently found in individuals with an atavistic development of the sense of smell. The infant comes very near to the animal in its instincts, so that the fact in comparative biology that the excretory organs in animals are of very high sexual significance supports our view that the excretory organs during the period of suckling in the infant act as sexual zones.

Zell discusses the favourite perfumes from the animal world which

are used not only by women, but also by homosexual men. He has taken up the subject of the 'Überkreuzregel', first established by Jäger, and irrefutably proved it by means of new material. This peculiar term denotes that sexual attraction takes place between different species and particularly between animals and human beings. It is for this reason that the domestic animal or the wild animal in captivity shows a marked preference for its breeder, owner, tamer, or keeper of the opposite sex. Apes only steal women as sexual objects. As demonstrated by Zell in a particularly convincing manner in the case of rational dairy-farming, the 'Schweizer', i. e. the men who milk the cows, owe their remarkable success exclusively to their sex. Their sex so acts on the cow that it gives proportionately more and better milk, for the final yield of milk at the milking is the richest in fat. Both the secretion and the passive excretion of milk are very dependent on pleasurable psycho-sexual feelings in the cow being milked; the cow scents the man, being an animal with the organ of smell specially pronounced. They do not 'withhold' the milk from the male milker. The animals are sensible of a pleasurable stimulus during the process of milking. When these obvious arguments are advanced it is comical with what certainty the opponents bring forward absurd explanations for the success of the male milkers. We are reminded of the display of apparent reasons with which our opponents differently rationalise every sexual causation. Psycho-analytically speaking the teats are therefore, according to Zell, erotogenic zones. This entirely corresponds to the experience of laymen and the accounts of normal women who are suckling a child. Candid wet-nurses admit to experiencing this great sexual pleasure; other women react to the question with an expression of modest indignation which betrays the repression. The sexual character of the pleasure in suckling, as now established by Zell from the observation of animals, is a good argument for the psycho-analytical assumption that sexual pleasure also takes place in the infant that is being suckled; the same feelings are to be assumed in a biological process as regards the skin of the giver and receiver.

Opposition to the recognition of the sexual impulse in its strength and psychical significance extends also to biology. Investigators prefer to ignore even the sexuality of animals. Zell lays stress on the fact that in the standard work by Alfred Brehm monkeys are described as being very sexual. In the later edition the authors have omitted the passages, not on the grounds of new observations, but on account of subjective antipathy; thus the monkeys are purged of the views of Cuvier, Oken, Reichenbach and Alfred Brehm, who all agree as to their excessive sexuality.

As this passage agrees with the assumption of the Darwinian primitive horde, which Freud has taken up; but is not quoted in Darwin[1] and is

[1] Carus, translation, 1871.

no longer to be found in the new Brehm, I will quote it literally from Zell's book on account of its interest to psycho-analysts. 'The strongest or oldest, therefore the most qualified male member of a herd, eventually becomes the chief or leader of the monkeys. This position is not assigned to him by universal suffrage, but only bestowed upon him after very obstinate struggles and fights with other candidates, i. e. with the rest of the old males. The longest teeth and the strongest arms are the deciding factors. A monkey who is not willing to be subordinated is taught discipline by blows and bites until he becomes reasonable. The crown descends in virtue of strength. His wisdom lies in his teeth. The chief monkey demands and enjoys unconditional obedience in every respect. He does not practise chivalrous courtesy towards the weaker sex, he obtains in the fight the reward of love. The jus primae noctis is still to-day in force for him. He is the tribal father of a people, and his family, like that of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, increase "as the sands of the sea". No female member of the band may yield to a foolish love affair with a youngster. The chief's eyes are keen and his discipline strict; he has no fooling in love affairs. The female monkeys who forget themselves, or rather him, get their ears boxed and are roughly handled, so that their association with other heroes of the band is certainly spoiled. The young male monkey who violates the laws of the harem that are made by the sultan, who is very proud of his right, fares very badly indeed. Jealousy makes the young monkey formidable. It is foolish of a female monkey to conjure up such jealousy, for the chief monkey is sufficient for all the female monkeys of his herd. If the herd becomes too big then a portion separates itself from the chief band under the leadership of a brother, who in the meantime has become sufficiently strong, and now begins on its own account the struggle and fight for the leadership in the herd and in love. Fighting always takes place where several strive for the same goal. Certainly no day passes among the apes without strife and quarrelling. A herd has only to be observed for a short time and we soon become aware of the struggle in their midst and its true causes.' In the fourth edition this excellent passage is very much abridged. It only says, 'Certainly no day passes among the apes without strife and quarrelling.'

The chimpanzee is the only exception to the general and excessive sexuality of the anthropoids. The chimpanzee is very good-natured and peaceable.

Among the other monkeys in captivity excessive onanism is the rule. Zell says of this: 'Leopards and the worries of obtaining food drive away thoughts of love from the mandrill living in the wild state and under normal conditions.' Onanism is very frequent in all animals in captivity and domestic animals, 'because we allow them to gratify their sexual impulse only on very rare occasions'. Perversions and sexual

intercourse with other species occur under the same conditions. 'I do not believe that animals living in freedom practise onanism—nor have I heard anything about it'—and inversion is not known in animals in their free state. The too young female is in the position to protect itself instinctively and successfully against the sexual attacks of the males. All aberrations from the normal are limited to domesticated states. Frogs are the only exception.

Zell discusses a question that is of interest to psycho-analysts. Castration originates from Africa, and extends back beyond the primitive period of mankind. Baboons bite off the sex organs of their adversaries, including men. The natives of Africa have learned this custom from the apes, and also a kind of dance, hair dressing, some kinds of food, a definite tatooing, and the apes' greeting.

This greeting has been hitherto explained incorrectly as an expression of homosexual preparedness, as though the stronger monkey were opposed to the smaller male monkey sexually, which certainly is not the case. Zell's illuminating explanation is that this greeting like all greetings in the animal world and between men signifies a state of defencelessness, in that the animal feeling itself too weak for the fight takes up a position in which it cannot fight. This idea, as well as defiance, is contained in the verbal derivative of the apes greeting among human beings.

In conclusion I will quote a short example from this book, which, though of no particular interest to psycho-analysts, shows in a typical manner the clear train of thought of the author. 'Why do not horses cry out? Only animals who assist each other cry out. For example, cattle low. Wild and single-hoofed animals do not assist each other.'

This book belongs to the good type of new books which does not humanize animals, but represents them in their natural condition, and thus in the sense of Schopenhauer shows the unity of all animated beings. One gains from it the conviction that the mind of animals, like that of human beings, receives its characteristic nature and often its individual fate through remote effects of the libido. In animals the libido can be developed to individual love, and for this reason the title Dictatorship of Love does not disparage this word.

PAUL FEDERN.

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SANITY IN SEX. By William J. Fielding. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. London, pp. 326. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

THE MYSTERY OF EXISTENCE AND A BRIEF STUDY OF THE SEX PROBLEM. By C. W. Armstrong. (Grant Richards, Ltd. London, pp. 192, 6s. net.)

SEX EDUCATION AND MATERNAL HEALTH. By C. Gasquoine Hartley (Leonard Parsons, Ltd., London, pp. 143, 6s. net.)

These three books, though widely different in scope and treatment, have in common their main theme—namely, that of sex and its developments, present or to come, in the individual and in society. It must be admitted that this is a subject which needs thought and research from any helpful quarter, but at the same time so complicated a problem is it, demanding really efficient equipment on the part of those who handle it, that the reader is at times tempted to wish that fewer people would rush in to tackle it.

Moreover, the new light shed by the discoveries concerning the unconscious render many of the formerly accepted views, even of 'Reformers', invalid, and it seems waste of time to offer us theories which by now are only to be relegated to the scrap-heap.

Such reflections are called forth by two out of the above three volumes, more especially by the largest of them.

Sanity and Sex. By William J. Fielding.

This fairly large work which is ushered in by a Preface characterized by its large claims and curiously pompous air, although containing some actual facts which are interesting and may prove useful (e. g. Ch. V, 'Sex Hygiene in Industry'; Ch. VII, 'Other Phases of the Sex Hygiene Movement'), is so full of misstatement, of half-knowledge and of an extraordinary (and to the reviewer, at least, a very repellent) blend of would-be 'science' and gushing ethics, that as a whole there is little to be said in recommendation of the book.

Mr. Fielding evidently feels himself capable of dealing with the most difficult and complicated problems of sex life in the individual and in our modern society, and his method too often is to achieve this by an artless elimination of the real factors. Such chapters as Ch. I, 'The Decadence of Fig-Leave Morality', Ch. IX, 'Sex Enlightenment and Conjugal Happiness'; Ch. III, 'Bringing Sex-Truths to the Soldier' are astonishing in their naïve outlook—'schoolgirlish' one is almost tempted to describe it—and ignoring of innumerable essentials.

It is impossible to give evidence of this in the short space of a review beyond quoting one or two instances which must suffice. In Ch. III, (Bringing Sex-Truths to the Soldier) the author seems to imagine that the men who made up the American army had no information, knowledge or experience of their own before the advent of sex-lectures arranged by the army-officials. He writes (p. 41): 'It seems almost like thinking of another age when we consider the practically unruffled field of virgin ignorance of sex-truths which so generally prevailed in 1917 when the mobilization of the American war-machine began.' Really, one was not aware that men, young, middle-aged or old, were such entirely different creatures in 1917 from what they are now, and one wonders whether W. Fielding has kept his eyes shut both before and after that date. On pp. 47 and 48 we are told of the lectures given to the men,

how the speakers emphasized the perils of promiscuous sexual relations, 'appealed to the human innate trait of altruism', 'impressed' the audience with the need of living clean lives, showed the 'possible effects of venereal diseases on innocent children', and so forth. As a result, according to our author, the men learnt what they had never heard of before in their lives, were inspired then and there to quite new standards of morality and life, and in general behaved very much as the hero of the Sunday School Tract.

Indeed, in Ch. IV, p. 67, we are informed that 'Specially designed art posters, bearing appealing messages, were used with splendid effect: *The most popular of these was one issued by the Y. M. C. A. with the poem. "You—in her thoughts", by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, handsomely illustrated. This poster with so vivid a reminder of mother-love and home, and so forceful an entreaty for clean living and the children unborn, gripped the men as possibly few other appeals could.*' (Italics are the Reviewer's.)

It is difficult to believe that in this same book we have a chapter (Ch. XII) devoted to 'Psycho-Analysis—the Searchlight on the Subconsciousness of Sex' in which the author sets out a brief résumé of some of the leading ideas in the Freudian theory. It must remain one of the insoluble mysteries that a writer can really (as he claims) understand Freud's theories and then proceed to write a book in which almost every chapter flies in the face of everything which those theories have established!

The Mystery of Existence and A Brief Study of the Sex Problem. By C. W. Armstrong.

The second book of the trilogy, as the title makes clear, has a wide scope, probably far too wide for the small compass of this volume. The chapter-headings will indicate the material dealt with: e. g., 'The World-Spirit' (Ch. II), 'The Subliminal Self' (Ch. IV), 'Free Will' (Ch. VI), ,Man's Destiny' (Ch. IX), 'Immortality' (Ch. X), 'Love' (Ch. VIII).

A great deal of reference is made to theories, philosophies, thinkers, in passing, but too little space perforce is devoted to any one to make this of value. One is left with vague ideas and generalizations only.

The second part, devoted to 'The Sex Problem' is more specific and thereby more satisfactory in treatment. It contains some useful facts in reference to Venereal Disease and a plea for more openness and honesty in regard to such matters as prostitution, so-called 'Unnatural Vice' and so forth. But here again, as in the volume previously reviewed, there is so much windy and unbased theorizing that the value of the other is largely vitiated. The author has a way of writing like this: ,Children were meant by God to play together in innocence . . .' (p. 184); ,What is the new morality that shall . . . lead us on to earthly bliss?' (p. 197) (the obvious reply being 'there's no sich'); 'Had we ideal

marriage laws, prostitution would either cease to exist or shrink to unsignificant proportions' (p. 167)—remarks which do not tend to produce either respect or conviction in the reader.

A very odd theory is formulated in this section on 'The Sex Problem'—namely, that for Britain the sex problem is so particularly urgent since it is her business to maintain her Empire and 'The British Empire can never really go under as long as it possesses larger and fitter populations than any other countries' (p. 165), and hence we must desire to see unfit citizens in other nations. 'The only approach *to a real guarantee we have of peace in the future lies in the number of physically defective children now born in Germany.*' (Italics are the Reviewer's.)

An interesting doctrine, but perhaps a trifle difficult to fit in with the uplifting views expressed at length in Section I!

Sex Education and Maternal Health. By C. Gasquoine Hartley.

It is a relief to turn to the smallest book of the three on the subject of sex, with its honest attempt to find out and think out some at least of the urgent problems involved. Mrs. Hartley has sense, sympathy and a good deal of excellent knowledge in certain directions connected with sex and its manifestations, which things give her an equipment for her subject. She does not attempt large generalizations nor (as a rule) hasty half-statements. She does try to look into and around the questions she attempts to deal with, and one is impressed by her sincerity in the sense of her real endeavour to see what is to be seen—a quality so conspicuously lacking in many writers on the matter. One of the best chapters is the one on 'Sexual Education' (Ch. II), especially pp. 34-7 and p. 44 (on the futility of a boundless belief in outside 'instruction' to the child); another which has many wise and helpful things in it is Ch. IV, 'Adolescence with special reference to the Adolescent Girl', and Ch. VII, 'Concluding Remarks' contains much enlightened good sense. The author has obviously applied some of Freud's teaching to the question of sex-education, with very desirable results, and one feels that when she has investigated and experienced more on psycho-analytical lines, some of the defects of her present work will be removed. She is inclined to underestimate the profound difficulties to be met with in the matter of sex-education and to ignore the actual facts in psychic development. Here is an example: (Ch. II, p. 33) 'The right opportunity for sexual instruction is when the child seeks for knowledge and the right knowledge is what the child wants to know.' Unfortunately, things are not so simple: Too often the child 'wants to know', but that 'want' is inhibited from conscious expression, or appears shameful to himself, and therefore is suppressed, through the fantasies already built up, and the parent must find some way of giving the knowledge which may never be sought openly, yet the ab-

sence of which is causing suffering and distortion of ideas. If the child could ask every time he desired, the process of education would indeed be made easier! In the same chapter (p. 46), still dealing with the question of giving information, she writes: 'It goes without saying that the mother must answer the child's question as if she were talking about any other part of the body, explaining the difference between a crab and a lobster.' An astonishing lack of understanding is revealed here! What is the use of the mother behaving 'as if' she were doing one thing when she is doing another? This can effect nothing but distrust and hypocrisy in the whole affair. The sex-organs are *not* 'any other part of the body' (nor, in fact, are *any* parts of the body as 'any other part'): the human being is *not* 'a crab or a lobster', and the effect of this kind of attitude—an attitude which itself denotes fear and repression—is to create further repressions—in the child.

In her advocacy of nakedness—the ideal, she says, is for boys and girls to bathe together naked quite openly, and for the young to see their elders naked—she again seems ignorant of some important considerations, and overlooks the question of premature sexual excitation: probably this is due to some vague idea that nakedness is 'natural', that what is 'natural' is right and desirable, or that what primitive people can do with advantage, so can the civilized man, if only he would begin to try—a doctrine responsible for all sorts of error! However, in spite of certain defects, in spite of the fact that one finds oneself often in disagreement with her conclusions, Mrs. Hartley must be thanked for a contribution which is very much worth having, one of the very few books on 'sex-education' which one cares to study and to recommend.

BARBARA LOW.

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PSYCHOLOGIE DE L'ENFANT. By Dr. Ed. Claparède, Professor at the University of Geneva. (Kündig, Geneva, 1920, Pp. 571.)

This well-known book has now reached its eighth edition in the original, the only English translation being from the fourth. It is generally recognised to be a standard work, one of the very best books that have ever been written on the subject of child psychology.

In the new edition we note that much more space has been devoted to psycho-analytical doctrines than in the earlier ones. The author, though long interested in psycho-analysis, has generally adopted a non-committal attitude towards it. In the course of time this has gradually become more and more favourable. Throughout the book—and of how many other psychological text-books could this be said?—are scattered references to psycho-analytical work, which is taken extensively into account in regard to such topics as memory, conflict, sublimation, and so on. The author protests against the objections that have been made

to the application of psycho-analysis in childhood and says: 'la méthode s'est montrée suffisamment féconde pour qu'elle ne soit pas condamnée pour cette seule raison qu'elle est délicate à manier, et que tel ou tel opérateur a pu faillir à sa tâche' (p. 249).

Nevertheless it is plain that the author has more to learn concerning, the theory of psycho-analysis and we hope that the following mistakes will be corrected in the next edition. On p. 547 we read: 'Pour Freud l'évolution des intérêts se ramène en somme à l'évolution d'un instinct primordial, qui apparaît le premier, et qui est la source de toute activité psychique, l'instinct sexuel'. It is becoming very tiresome to correct this gross misapprehension time after time, but one must ask such writers how they suppose Freud comes to build his whole psychology on the conception of conflict if he thinks there is no other instinct than the sexual one with which this can enter into conflict. Again (p. 548) it is stated that Freud gives such a wide meaning to the word Libido that it becomes equivalent to the term interest, this distortion of the word being just what psycho-analysts, on the contrary, have reproached Jung with committing; and sure enough, as a proof of this statement relating to Freud, we find a footnote giving a reference to Jung's writings! Although there is still confusion in other countries concerning the difference between the views of Freud and Jung one is astonished to find it persisting in Switzerland.

E. J.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF INDUSTRY. By James Drever, M.A., B.Sc., D.Phil. (Methuen and Co., London, 1921. Pp. vii + 141. Price 5s.)

'This little book is intended not so much for the student of psychology as for the ordinary man' and we might add is written from the standpoint of the experimental psychologist. Three aspects of the problem are outlined; the first concerns the worker (his character, intelligence, vocational fitness, etc.), the second the work (fatigue and output in relation to rest periods, ventilation, lighting, economy of movement), the third concerns the market (supply and demand from the psychological standpoint). The second aspect is dealt with at some length and repays careful reading.

The industrial psychologist may approach his problem in two ways; he may start from the details of the work to be done: for example from the question, 'How quickly, how accurately can this person tap keys?' he formulates tests and from their results can hazard a guess whether a girl will be a good typist. Or he may approach the problem from the other end and start, not from the details of the work, but from the energy sources of the worker's life, from the libido, and then try to place the worker in such a position that his libido may be

satisfied; the interests of the libido and of the community meeting on the common ground of a sublimation-activity. The former is the experimental psychologist's method, the latter a derivative of psycho-analytic research. The inadequacy of the former method alone except as a guide to the *final* sorting and grading of workers is obvious.

Psycho-analysis proper frequently includes studies of work-efficiency. Repressed homosexuality is often a cause of difficulties between mistress and maid. Narcissism causes workmen to dread efficiency tests as it does schoolboys to funk their examinations. Anal erotism and the anal character often play a determining part both in the choice of work and emotional attitude to it.

The ubiquitous Œdipus complex is an almost constant factor. There are people who make a profession of psycho-analytical knowledge and who on the basis of that knowledge and of experimental psychology advise their clients what work will satisfy libido and also earn a good salary. Such efforts one watches with interest and trepidation, but at least they possess one merit in that they approach the relation of worker to work from both aspects. Accredited psycho-analysts do not employ their time in advising their patients what work to pursue, for the reason that a sublimation-activity is no more amenable to advice than a neurosis.

If a book called the Psychology of Love dealt with topics no more fundamental than early-closing day, the shading of lights and 'tests for the memory of faces', the ordinary man would feel that while valuable points had been touched on sufficient stress had not been laid on the dynamic power of love, and that justice had not been done to our present knowledge of the subject. It is a pity that the author of 'The Psychology of Everyday Life' and 'Instinct in Man' has been so departmental in a book he entitles 'The Psychology of Industry'.

JOHN RICKMAN.

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TRAITÉ DE PATHOLOGIE MÉDICALE ET DE THÉRAPEUTIQUE APPLIQUÉE. (Maloine et Fils, Paris)

Dans le Traité de Pathologie Médicale et de Thérapeutique appliquée deux volumes seront consacrés à la Psychiatrie.

Le premier volume, qui vient de paraître, contient les articles suivants:

Ritti (Dr. Antoine), Sémeiologie générale. — Juquelier (Dr.), Manie aiguë, Psychasthénie. — Durand (Dr.), Mélancolie et Psychoses périodiques. — Mignard (Dr.), Etats confusionels, Psychologie des délires. Confusion mentale aiguë. — Sérieux et Capgras (Drs.), Délires systématisés. — Logre, Etat mental des hystériques. — Brissot (Dr.), Etat mental des épileptiques. — Mallet (Dr.), Psychoses de guerre.

Ce premier volume suggère déjà de nombreuses remarques, aussi ai-je voulu en rendre compte, sans attendre la publication du second.

Ce livre possède toutes les grandes qualités et les grands défauts des ouvrages français. C'est dire que les descriptions cliniques des différentes maladies qu'il traite, sont excellentes; on ne peut qu'admirer avec quel soin chaque symptôme est étudié. Mais d'autre part on est obligé de regretter que les psychiâtres français, au point de vue étiologique, en soient toujours restés à la théorie de la dégénérescence, vieille de plus de 50 ans. Cette persévération provient probablement du fait que les Français se tiennent si peu au courant de la littérature étrangère. On s'étonne en effet de ne trouver aucune mention des ouvrages de Freud dans les articles de Ritti, de Juquelier, de Capgras, de Sérieux, de Brissot et de Mallet. Le sujet qu'ils traitent est cependant en rapport direct avec les travaux des psychoanalystes.

Logre, dans son article sur 'L'état mental des hystériques', rend compte de la psychoanalyse, d'après l'ouvrage de Régis et Hesnard, mais il semble ne pas la connaître de première main, et surtout ne l'avoir jamais pratiquée. La citation ci-dessous le montre clairement (p. 356):

'Appliquer la psycho-analyse, c'est-à-dire faire appel aux souvenirs anciens, en partie oubliés et déformés; laisser aller la fantaisie du malade à l'aventure, sous prétexte d'étudier les associations spontanées, ou mettre en jeu sa suggestibilité, sous prétexte de diriger les associations provoquées; s'en rapporter au récit des rêves, dont l'anamnèse et le commentaire sont toujours si délicats, si incertains et si fuyants; interpréter enfin des états d'automatisme subconscient et de distraction, n'est-ce pas accumuler, comme à plaisir, toutes les chances d'infidélité du témoignage? N'est-ce pas précisément *convertir en moyens d'investigation scientifique les causes d'erreur les plus habituelles de l'interrogatoire médical:* amnésie et fabulation, suggestibilité, rêve et rêverie, subconscience et distraction?'

Par ailleurs, Logres reconnaît cependant le bien-fondé de certaines ois psychologiques, mises en lumière par la psycho-analyse. Voici, par exemple, ce qu'il dit du refoulement (p. 359):

'Il est étrange, en vérité, que l'école de Freud ait pu regarder l'hystérie comme la conséquence exclusive d'un refoulement *sexuel.* S'il est, en effet, toute une série de faits dans lesquels le *procédé du refoulement* se manifeste avec quelque évidence clinique, c'est bien dans l'hystéro-traumatisme de guerre. Ce bras paralysé qui ne veut pas guérir, c'est, au fond, *l'expression indirecte et inconsciente d'une défaillance du courage.* Mais ce refoulement n'appartient, — comme de juste, — en aucune manière, à la psychopathologie de l'instinct de reproduction. Il met seulement en jeu ces deux tendances primordiales de l'instinct de conservation: *l'amour de l'argent* et *la peur de la mort.*'

Mignard, dans son article sur 'La psychologie des délires' semble avoir une compréhension meilleure et plus impartiale de la psychoanalyse. Voici une citation un peu longue, mais qui résume bien ses idées sur les diverses psychothérapies modernes (p. 230).

'Nous ne ferons qu'une brève allusion aux procédés que l'insuccès a condamnnés. Disons, en un mot, qu'il ne sert à rien, ou à peu près à rien, d'essayer d'intimider le délirant ou de le convaincre par des raisons purement logiques. Par la première méthode on a pu obtenir d'apparantes concessions, cachant la persistance des erreurs; par la seconde, de momentanés avantages, bientôt masqués par un nouvel épanouissement de la végétation psycho-pathologique.

'Quelques années avant la guerre, l'école de Freud avait proposé un système thérapeutique par lequel furent obtenus certains résultats. La psychoanalyse[1] consistait à rechercher l'origine de l'idée délirante dans une préoccupation ancienne refoulée hors de la claire conscience. Une observation poussée servait de traitement. Les disciples de Freud trouvaient par une curieuse méthode d'investigation, la racine du délire dans quelque souvenir devenu méconnaissable à la suite du "refoulement". Le "complexe" que la "Censure" avait exclu réapparaissait sous des formes nouvelles. Montrer au malade, en la découvrant, la véritable identité de son trouble, c'était en même temps le réduire. Quelques succès furent obtenus. Ils restèrent limités. C'est que le principe de l'investigation était lui-même bien spécial. Pour Freud, en effet, et pour ses disciples, tous les "complexes" refoulés sont de nature sexuelle. Leurs doctrines préconçues admettent l'origine génitale des formes supérieures de la pensée. Les relations sociales en proscriraient la reconnaissance ouverte. La conscience personelle, complice des refoulements, n'admettrait la reminiscence des "traumas sexuels" qu'après complète métamorphose. On imagine sans peine les étranges développements qu'une doctrine aussi partielle et aussi partiale a pu susciter dans certains esprits. Tel élève de Freud, interprétant les songes par la symbolique érotique, charge d'impudiques significations les plus modestes images. Ces exagérations et cette erreur fondamentale ne doivent pas faire oublier la part de vérité qui existe dans la psychoanalyse. Elle était, à vrai dire, connue avant le développement de ce système excessif. Janet, avant Freud, avait montré dans certaines idées délirantes l'expression d'une obsession dissimulée, dont la nature n'est pas forcément sexuelle, mais qui se rattache toujours à quelque donnée affective.

'Un premier temps du traitement psychothérapique consiste donc souvent en effet dans une observation soigneuse et approfondie, par

[1] L'on n'envisage ici que l'application de la psychoanalyse aux idées délirantes. Le système de Freud s'adressait surtout, dans le début, aux psychonévroses. Plus tard il s'étendit aux psychoses, et trouva, par ailleurs, de nombreuses adaptations.

laquelle on essaiera de dégager les racines cachées de l'idée délirante. Puis, les montrant au sujet, on tentera de lui faire comprendre la génèse de son erreur. Les arguments logiques et expérimentaux que l'on peut opposer à la conviction erronée ne seront pas négligés. Nous avons parlé de leur impuissance ordinaire lorsqu'on les utilise seuls; ils n'en constituent pas moins un excellent moyen d'accoutumer le sujet à discuter avec son délire, et les résultats obtenus peuvent être consolidés si l'on a soin d'attaquer, en même temps que la construction intellectuelle, la base affective qui la soutient.'

Si Mignard montre ici qu'il n'est pas entièrement d'accord avec les théories sexuelles de Freud, on voit cependant qu'il a su reconnaître de grandes qualités à la méthode psychoanalytique.

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE.

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EXAMEN DES ALIÉNÉS. Par André Barté. (Masson et Cie. éditeurs, 177 pages.)

Ce livre consacre quelques pages à la psychoanalyse; mais l'auteur ne connait cette méthode qu'à travers les livres et articles français et le livre du regretté professeur Putnam. Son exposé des théories de Freud ne contient donc aucun jugement personnel, et, de plus, contient à un grand nombre d'erreurs.

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE.

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MANUAL OF PSYCHIATRY. Edited by Aaron J. Rosanoff, M.D. (Fifth Edition, Revised and Enlarged, 1920. Chapman & Hall. Pp. 640. Price 22s.)

The fact that this well known American Manual has reached its fifth edition in fifteen years is sufficient evidence that it serves its purpose as a text-book.

Before the war it was merely a translation of Rogues de Fursac's work, but Dr. Rosanoff has now taken over most of the American edition and modified it according to his own views.

We have always regarded this book as remarkably unequal and the present edition has not modified our opinion. For the most part Kraepelin's classification is adopted and the various forms of mental disorder are described, sometimes in full (Manic-Depressive psychoses, Dementia Praecox, General Paralysis) and sometimes much too briefly (Neurasthenia, Paranoia, Infection and Exhaustion psychoses). Uraemic delirium has a chapter all to itself while myxoedema is dismissed in less than three pages.

There is a chapter on psycho-analysis which is quite good, *ipso*

facto, because it consists mainly of quotations from psycho-analytical books, especially from translations of Freud's works; but there is not one word about the value of psycho-analysis in the treatment of mental illness. Indeed this chapter does not fit the book at all.

There is a section on the Sexual Psychopathies, i. e. perversions, but there is no mention of their repression. Hysteria is regarded as a special form of malingering, closely allied to criminality, and the account of Neurasthenia (fortunately only a page and a half) is all wrong in spite of the fact that the author quotes an accurate definition and explanation in Appendix VIII, which is the 'Classification of Mental Diseases adopted by the Medico-Psychological Association, May 30, 1917, and by the New York State Hospital Commission, July 1, 1917' with officially issued explanatory notes and definitions. In this official document, the Anxiety Neurosis receives full recognition, but such an important malady is not even mentioned in the body of the book. In the brief account of Paranoia there is no allusion to the homosexual basis of this psychosis or even to the underlying mechanism of projection. In the chapter on epilepsy there is no reference to the work of Ferenczi, Pierce Clark and others who have demonstrated by psycho-analysis that epilepsy is fundamentally a psychosis. Such criticism might be multiplied; but enough has been said to show that the chapter on psycho-analysis, good as it is, is out of place in Dr. Rosanoff's book. Psycho-analysis is evidently a thing apart.

Among the appendices seventy-four pages are devoted to word-association tests and tables of word-reactions, incorrectly called the 'Free Association Test'. Those word-reactions which comply with certain arbitrary rules are regarded as normal, others as abnormal. According to these rules a person who reacted to the word 'dark' with 'fearsome' or to the word 'table' with 'Mabel' would be abnormal; but, in any case, we fail to see what on earth can be the use of these tables of word reactions in the diagnosis or treatment of mental disorder. Jung used word association to determine certain types of reaction, but to use the method as an end in itself is futile. Quite commonly a word reaction may revive a preconscious memory, but occasions must be extremely rare where a stimulus word happens as a stray shot to penetrate the unconscious; and even then, it is uncertain that the revived memory would have bearing on the malady from which the patient is suffering.

The index of Authors, whose views—by the way—are not always correctly interpreted, fills five pages while the index of subjects occupies no less than forty-seven pages, from which it would appear that indexing can be overdone. Some items, such as age, delusions, dementia praecox, depression, excitement, hallucinations, recovery and treatment have forty, fifty or even more than sixty references. An index

of this kind is a nuisance to anybody who wishes to look up some point.

We know of no book which reminds us so strongly of the story of the curate's egg. It is excellent in parts.

W. H. B. STODDART.

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FOUNDATIONS OF PSYCHIATRY. By William A. White, M.D. (Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, New York and Washington. 1921. Pp. 136. Price 3 dollars.)

This is another of the very readable books with which Dr. White provides us. Its aim seems to be not so much a technical study of the individual insanities, a subject with which Dr. White has dealt in his well-known 'Outlines of Psychiatry,' as an attempt to broaden the conception of Psychiatry by showing its relation to other branches of medicine and psychology on the one hand, and to sociology and cognate sciences on the other. In this aim it admirably succeeds. It is an excellent and broad presentation of the implications of psychiatric study, approaching it from many aspects besides the technical one of psychiatry proper, such as those of zoology, pre-historic history of man, child development, endocrinology etc.

It is not very clear, however, precisely what audience Dr. White has in mind in writing the book, for to appreciate or even to understand the range of topics with which it deals needs a reader well-nigh as widely educated as the author himself. How many non-medical readers, for instance, would find such passages as the following easy reading? 'The voluntary type of muscle consists of two parts, sarcoplasmatic substance which is innervated by the autonomic system and, imbedded within this substance, the anisotropic disc system which is innervated by the projicient nervous apparatus,' or 'The affects are the psychological reverberations of the autonomically conditioned visceral and postural tonicities which thus become the physiological aspects of the emotions.' It would seem possible to have dealt even with such matters in a somewhat less technical manner.

Dr. White finds that the isolation of psycho-analysts in different countries during the war has led to the development of certain national characteristics. He speaks of the American School of Psychopathology and enumerates ten features characteristic of this school. It strikes us that most of these features are either not peculiar to America, or else are expressed in such a general way as to leave their precise meaning not obvious. They are as follows: (1) The unity of the organism as an energy system; (2) human behavior as a special problem of energy transformation and discharge; (3) structural organization as an instance

of the phyletic synthesis of experience, with the nervous system as the chief agent in this organization; (4) the principle of action patterns of discharge as integral parts of the structural organization; (5) the conception that the symbol is a source and a carrier of energy; (6) the abolition of the metaphysical distinction between mind and body; (7) the conception of the unconscious as a container of the phyletic history of the organization of the psyche in action pattern symbolization; (8) the importance of archaic symbols and their relationship to somatic as well as mental diseases; (9) the belief that organic disorders have their psychologic as well as their somatic symptomatology; (10) the belief that standards of conduct are an integral part of the action pattern symbolizations and therefore must be included in the understanding and management of all medical and social problems.

Dr. White has incidentally succeeded in making much more intelligible the tendencies of Kempf's recent work than can easily be gleaned from the writings of that author, which were reviewed in the last number of this JOURNAL,[1] and we recommend those desirous of informing themselves on this work to refer rather to Dr. White's presentation.

Sublimation is defined (p. 126) as 'the name given to the results of continuous successful solutions of conflicts along the lines of the most effective unfolding of the personality.' If Dr. White wishes to give the term this new, and as it seems to us quite unwarranted, sense, we think it only right that he should also quote the sense in which it was used by Freud when he first employed and defined the term. Not to do so is not only unfair, but also adds to the steadily increasing confusion due to the loose and irregular use of technical psycho-analytical terms.

Ferenczi, Groddeck and other workers in Europe will be interested to know that Dr. White also makes a strong plea (pp. 104-6) for a psychogenic view of many organic disorders, including the myopathies, 'pylorospasm, which may lead to organic changes such as gastric or duodenal ulcer,' 'diabetes mellitus, particularly the adrenalinogenic type' etc.

To the young practitioner of psychiatry the volume will prove of the greatest value, and many other readers such as physiologists, psychologists and sociologists, will also find it useful.

E. J.

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FÊTES ET CHANSONS DE L'ANCIENNE CHINE. Par Granet. (Paris, Leroux, 1920.)

Ce livre écrit par un disciple de Durkheim ne fait pas allusion aux théories de Freud mais il présente cependant un grand intérêt

[1] p. 237.

pour les psychoanalystes. Les Chinois, en effet, se sont toujours servis de symboles. Les commentateurs de leurs vieux livres sacrés ont donné des interprétations multiples au travers des siècles des différentes chansons et légendes sacrées. Il n'est pas jusqu'aux caractères de leur écriture qui soient surdéterminés, tant ces caractères ont eu de significations successives. C'est pourquoi le folk-lore chinois présente un intérêt si particulier pour les psychoanalystes.

On pourrait considérer au moins deux phases dans la symbolisation des chansons chinoises. Une première, dans laquelle les symboles représentent certains désirs, ou certains complexes de leurs auteurs. Puis une deuxième phase, ou phase de rationalisation, dans laquelle les commentateurs essaient de tirer une doctrine morale de ces symboles. L'ouvrage de M. Granet fait bien ressortir ces deux étapes à propos des chansons et des fêtes de l'ancienne Chine. M. G. fait remarquer que si ces poésies avaient été écrites directement dans le but de moraliser, elles auraient été composées par des lettrés. Or, tout tend à prouver qu'il s'agit de chansons populaires et non de chansons d'érudits. Elles ont toutes, en effet, un caractère d'impersonnalité. Il n'y a point de héros dans ces chansons d'amour. Quant aux images poétiques elles sont toujours de nature rustique. Au point de vue de la forme, les vers sont écrits avec symétrie, et souvent en manière d'interrogations et de réponses. M. G. croit pouvoir en conclure que ces chansons ont été composées pour les danses des fêtes champêtres.

Le rythme de ces vers, et les modifications légères que l'on trouve d'un auteur à l'autre, tendraient même à prouver qu'ils ont été créés spontanément au cours des danses paysannes. Pendant longtemps on n'a voulu voir dans les fêtes champêtres qu'une glorification du printemps et de l'automne, mais M. G. s'est attaché à retrouver la vraie signification de ces cérémonies. Il a recherché notamment quel pouvait être le sens des joutes, ce rite que l'on retrouve dans toutes les fêtes chinoises.

'Avant que dans la vie domestique', dit-il, 'ne s'exaltât le particularisme familial, une fête automnale consolidait l'unité des communautés locales; de même avant que la vie corporative ne vint rendre plus aiguë l'opposition entre hommes et femmes, une fête printannière, avec sa joute, ne voulait-elle pas rapprocher les sexes par d'universelles accordailles? La joute chantée refait d'une double manière l'unité sociale, dont elle exprime aussi la complexité: elle rapproche les jeunes gens de villages différents, de sexes différents, elle atténue l'antagonisme des groupes secondaires, elle atténue celui des corporations sexuelles. L'opposition des groupes locaux est, comme l'opposition des sexes, à la base de l'organisation chinoise; mais tandis que la première ne repose que sur une distribution géographique, l'autre s'appuie à une division technique du travail; elle est la plus irréductible des deux. Si la division du groupe social en deux corporations sexuelles

est primordiale en effet, une fête qui opposait et rapprochait ces deux moitiés de la société en rétablirait l'unité première: dès lors l'union sexuelle devait sembler le principe de toute alliance .... C'est pourquoi la joute amoureuse par laquelle se concluaient tous les mariages de l'année, avait droit à la première place dans les fêtes saisonnières de la concorde paysanne, et tout particulièrement dans la grande fête du printemps. Par le fait même que l'union sexuelle était, primitivement et par essence, un principe de cohésion sociale, elle ne pouvait manquer d'être réglementée.

'Les obligations symétriques d'endogamie fédérale et d'exogamie familiale n'étaient apparemment que les premières: les plus générales et les plus simples de règles auxquelles devait obéir toute alliance matrimoniale; ces règles devinrent sans doute plus minucieuses, quand la structure sociale se compliqua. Je vois une preuve de cette stricte réglementation dans le fait que l'amour resta étranger aux fantaisies du désir et au caprice de la passion. Et, en effet, dans les chansons improvisées, il garde toujours un air d'impersonnalité; il ne s'exprime pas selon le libre jeu d'une inspiration originale, mais par des formules ou des dictons, mieux faits pour traduire les sentiments usuels d'une collectivité, que les émotions singulières des individus. Lorsqu'au cours des joutes, dans l'ardeur du concours les protagonistes s'avançaient, qui se défiaient l'un l'autre et face à face improvisaient, leur invention n'avait pas sa source dans le fonds particulier de leur âme, le mouvement propre de leur coeur, la fantaisie de leur génie, elle se faisait au contraire sur le patron de thèmes traditionels, selon un rythme de danse par tous suivi, sous l'impression enfin d'émotions collectives. Et c'était par proverbes qu'ils se déclaraient leur amour naissant. Mais si cette déclaration d'amour pouvait ainsi recevoir une expression proverbiale, c'est que le sentiment lui-même ne résultait pas d'un attrait particulier senti, d'une élection du coeur, d'un choix, s'il en avait été autrement, si les protagonistes avaient été poussés l'un vers l'autre par une vocation spontanée, il ne se pourrait pas, que jamais ils n'aient fait entendre un accent personel; ils ne se seraient pas toujours adressés à un être vague, anonyme, indéfini; les couplets nouveaux se seraient ordinairement signalés par d'autres trouvailles que celle d'auxiliaires descriptifs; les variantes témoigneraient de quelque originalité; — or, bien au contraire, la plus uniforme monotonie caractérise l'invention des chansons d'amour. C'est que même dans les duels où ils s'affrontaient, individu à individu, les garçons et les filles restaient avant tout les représentants de leur sexe et les délégués de leur groupe familial: C'est que même alors, ils ne suivaient pas leur fantaisie, mais obéissaient à un devoir .... Aux temps classiques, les fiançailles se firent sans aucune liberté de choix, et par l'autorité d'un entremetteur; un tel usage aurait-il pu s'établir si, au cours des joutes, les époux s'étaient choisis librement? Et n'est-ce pas significative la tradition qui

fait présider les fêtes sexuelles du printemps par un fonctionnaire nommé précisément l'entremetteur? apparamment les joutes loin d'être propices aux caprices individuels et la licence, mettent seulement en rapport des jeunes gens déjà destinés l'un à l'autre et qui avaient à s'aimer.' (page 214 et suivantes.)

Cette citation montre bien à quelle curieuse conception de l'amour, a amené le traditionalisme chinois. On trouvera dans le livre de M. G., bien d'autres renseignements intéressants, se rapportant aux relations sexuelles des Chinois (p. 250).

'L'opposition des sexes demeura une des règles cardinales de la société. L'activité masculine, particulièrement dans l'entourage des seigneurs, ne perdit rien de sa noblesse, bien au contraire; mais tandis que les hommes étaient fréquemment appelés aux réunions de cour, les femmes s'en trouvaient normalement exclues; elles vivaient dans la retraite des gynécées, constamment occupées à des besognes quotidiennes, tenues à l'écart des solennités de la vie publique. L'opposition qui restait grande, entre les sexes, sembla déterminée par une différence de valeur entre l'homme et la femme; le contact sexuel, qui inspira toujours plus de crainte, fut redouté, parceque l'homme parut, en s'approchant de la femme, compromettre son caractère auguste. Dès que la femme fut retranchée de la vie publique, on imagina qu'elle était trop impure pour avoir le droit d'y participer; la réclusion où elle vivait paraissait imposée par cette impureté, et devint de plus en plus stricte; les pratiques qui accompagnaient l'union sexuelle furent considérées comme autant de remèdes destinés à combattre une influence néfaste émanant de la femme.'

Le livre de M. G. se termine par un appendice, où l'on trouvera des descriptions d'explorateurs contemporains, concernant les rites des fêtes chinoises modernes.

RAYMOND DE SAUSSURE.

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SPIRITUALISM AMONG CIVILISED AND SAVAGE RACES. By Edward Lawrence, F.R.A.I. (A. & C. Black, Ltd., London, 1921. Pp. 112, Price 5s.)

This is a book that is not likely to convert anyone to the author's way of thinking, if he does not already share it. He is as uncompromising an opponent of spiritism as Edward Clodd, Stanley Hall and Mercier, though without the fierceness of the last named. There is little in the book of the impartiality evinced by another adverse critic, Ivor Tuckett, in his 'Evidence of the Supernatural'.

The author's thesis is the thorough-going identity of the beliefs held by modern-day spiritists, and most of their technique, with those obtaining among practically all primitive races. The facts are certainly indubitable and the author marshalls them with considerable skill. The

interpretation of them, however, is perhaps not so obvious as it appears to him. With an anthropologist, as with a biologist, the consideration in question will carry very great weight, justly so, and the tendency will be almost irresistible to regard the present-day beliefs as nothing more than lingering relics of an ignorant and superstitious past. In fact the author defines spiritism, not very gracefully, as 'nothing but the fag-end of an old superstition—a superstition which obsesses the mind of barbaric man because he does not possess the necessary knowledge which explains natural phenomena'. 'As the biologist and the astronomer of today would repudiate primitive explanations of their respective sciences, and declare those explanations to be untrue explanations of "natural" phenomena, although they themselves may share with the savage other primordial conceptions; so would the anthropologist, whose business it is to study the complex psychology of man, refuse to accept any explanation put forth in the name of science which, on examination, proved contradictory of facts as well attested as those upon which modern biology and astronomy themselves are founded.'

It may very well be so, but we are not so sure as Mr. Lawrence is that the anthropologist is capable of the final decision. According to him 'the truth or falsehood of this modern Spiritualism is a question for the anthropologist to decide'. As a matter of fact, however, the anthropologist would probably have come to a like decision, on similar grounds, concerning the question whether dreams possess mental meaning and significance, a decision which we now know would have been wrong. It is possible that the ignorant superstitions clustering about the belief in the supernatural may, when we learn to interpret them correctly, prove to have a core of truth, symbolic if not literal, just as psycho-analysis has shewn to be so with those clustering about dream life. We would at all events challenge his view that such matters can be settled without reference to modern psychology, for it is becoming clearer that the indirect contact which is the only one possible to effect with primitive men will have to be extensively supplemented by the modern methods of directly investigating the primitive mind that remains in all of us. In other words matters such as these will never be adequately investigated or explained until we have men trained in both social anthropology *and* psycho-analysis.

E. J.

*

Sexual Life of Primitive People. By Hans Fehlinger, translated by Dr. and Mrs. S. Herbert. (A. & C. Black Ltd., London 1921. Pp. 133. Price 5s.)

This volume gives a condensed but representative account of the sexual life and customs of primitive peoples. The topics covered are:

Modesty among primitive people; pre-marital freedom and conjugal fidelity; courtship customs; marriage; birth and foeticide; ignorance of the process of generation; mutilation of the sex organs; maturity and decline. A useful bibliography is appended in which, however, we miss the valuable work of Karsch-Haack on homosexuality among savages.

The risk books such as these run is in not being able successfully to avoid the impression that primitive peoples are to be treated as a unit. The ordinary mind tends to regard them as such and is apt to forget that the difference between one such race and another may be quite as great as that between either and ourselves. This risk is fairly well avoided in the present volume, care being taken to quote concrete facts while restricting the number of generalisations made. It is a book that can be commended to those desiring preliminary information on this topic. The translation has been very well done.

E. J.

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THE PSYCHIC RESEARCH QUARTERLY. VOL. I. (Published by Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co.)

The first numbers of this new periodical have reached us. As its title indicates, it is concerned with the various aspects of spiritism.

From an editorial article entitled 'The Special Technique of Psychical Research' we take the following passages (p. 193). 'The light which modern investigations, and especially psycho-analytic methods, have thrown on the unconscious motives which determine seemingly causeless actions is in itself a contribution of first-rate importance to the subject. It has been proved up to the hilt that even the apparently most senseless actions of the deranged have a *raison d'être* which is perfectly comprehensible when once the mechanisms concerned are laid bare. Henceforward all arguments in favour of the genuineness of phenomena which are based on lack of motive for their fraudulent production must be considered worthless, for no mediumistic activities are more irrational than many compulsive acts whose secret causes have been discovered . . . Psycho-analytic methods in particular are the most powerful which have yet been devised for the investigation of those transformations of personality which so closely resemble some of the conditions with which Psychical Research is concerned'.

In No. 4 is a paper by Dr. William Brown entitled 'Psycho-Pathology in Relation to Psychical Research', in which he quotes some of his hypnotic experiences in France; he points out how these could erroneously have been interpreted in a spiritistic sense.

We understand that this journal is about to change its character into that of a general psychological one. E. J.

REPORTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL ASSOCIATION

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE

The Seventh International Psycho-Analytical Congress will be held in Berlin on September 22 to September 25, 1922. The titles of papers to be read should be sent to the Secretary (J. C. Flügel, 11 Albert Road, London, N.W. 1) before July 1, and abstracts before July 15. A Reception Committee is being formed in Berlin and further details will be communicated in due course.

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THE BERLIN PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

January 6, 1921. Short Communications.

January 20, 1921. Dr. K. Abraham: Contributions to the Theory of the Anal Character.

January 27, 1921. General Meeting.

February 3, 1921. Frau Melanie Klein: Child-Analysis.

February 10, 1921. Discussion on the above paper.

February 17, 1921. Dr. Alexander: Metapsychological Contributions.

February 24, 1921. Discussion on Psycho-Analytical Therapy,

March 3, 1921. Short Communications.

March 10, 1921. General Meeting.

March 17, 1921. Dr. Simmel: On the Psycho-Analysis of Tic.

March 24, 1921. Short Communications.

April 7, 1921. Short Communications.

April 14, 1921. Dr. Sachs: Contributions to Symbolism.

April 21, 1921. Short Communications.

April 28, 1921. Dr. Reik: On the Psychology of Early Christendom.

May 12, 1921. Short Communications.

May 19, 1921. Frau Melanie Klein: Disturbances of Orientation in Children.

May 26, 1921. Short Communications.

June 2, 1921. Dr. Hubermann: On Speech; Dr. Harnik: Review of Ferenczi's paper on Tic.[1]

June 9, 1921. Discussion of Dr. Harnik's review.[1]

June 23, 1921. Short Communications.

June 30, 1921. Dr. Boehm: Transvestitism.

New Members: Dr. F. Alexander. Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Düsseldorferstraße 77. Frau Dr. Happel, Frankfurt am Main, Leerbachstraße 39.

From the Swiss Society: Dr. Nachmansohn.

From Budapest: Dr. Harnik.

From Vienna: Dr. Sachs.

MAX EITINGON, Hon. Sec.,
Berlin W, Rauchstraße 4.

DISCUSSION OF TIC

Dr. F. Harnik recognised especially the great similarity between traumatic neuroses and tic which Ferenczi had pointed out both as regards the (motor) symptoms and the conjectured mechanism of origin of the disease. A case of generalised tic, which he had had the opportunity of investigating analytically for some time, led him to suspect that an uncontrolled, strong affect of fright (e. g. as a result of libidinal fright traumata) was the precipitating etiological factor of the disease. It seemed to him that in such cases—as Freud had similarly found in the traumatic neuroses—the mental machinery, as a result of the traumatic experience, was overwhelmed with a mass of (libidinal) stimuli which could not any longer be controlled by the customary mechanism of repression. The motor symptoms of tic then served as a safeguard against these libidinal demands in the sense Ferenczi had indicated.

Dr. Abraham said that the term tic had been originally used equally for entirely heterogeneous symptoms, such as 'tic douloureux' (trigeminal neuralgia), facial nerve spasm, and many compulsive motor symptoms, as well as for those conditions which were today termed tic. In differential diagnosis the main difficulty now

[1] See the following 'Discussion', and this *Journal,* Vol. II, p. 1.

lay in separating tics from obsessional acts. A solution was not offered either by Meige and Feindel or by Ferenczi. The characteristics of tic given by the former authors were valid in every particular in the case of obsessional acts as well. The inability to control stimuli described by Ferenczi had been excellently observed, but this inability was quite as characteristic of obsessional neurotics. The narcissistic symptoms upon which Ferenczi had laid the greatest weight occurred in every case of hysteria or obsessional neurosis. The regression to narcissism, however, certainly never went so far in the case of a *tiqueur* as it did in the mentally deranged. Ferenczi was right in pointing out the similarities between tic and catatonia, but he had overlooked the many very fundamental contrasts between the two conditions. There was never a question of tic terminating in dementia. On the other hand, the assumption of an exaggerated organ-libido and the construction of a group of 'patho-neurotic tics' seemed very fruitful.

So far as he could see, it was just as impossible to separate tic absolutely from obsessional actions as it was to separate anxiety symptoms completely from conversion symptoms in hysteria. The mutual relationship was, however, quite similar. The *tiqueur* adduced an etiology, that is to say a connection between his sufferings and his experiences, just as the hysterical patient did. But in his emotional life he did not give any significance to this connection, as did the obsessional neurotic who feared disastrous results from the omission of his obsessional acts. The suppression of a tic was painful and when it was allowed free play it undoubtedly relieved tension; but he could not agree to the view that the suppression of a tic caused anxiety.

One of the principal objections arose at another point. Ferenczi had expressed the opinion that no relationship to an object seemed to be concealed in a tic. His (Dr. Abraham's) analyses had revealed a double relationship to the object, a sadistic and an anal one. The resemblance of tic to obsessional neurosis showed itself here; it seemed closer than the relationship to catatonia.

The first tic mentioned in psycho-analytic literature was a tongue-clicking (Studien über Hysterie, 1895), through which the female patient unconsciously wished to wake her sick father who had just fallen asleep. There was certainly a tendency here directed against her father's life. One of his (Dr. Abraham's) patients suffering from a generalized tic made snapping movements with

his fingers, at the same time always throwing his arm forward in an aggressive manner. Tics which take the form of making grimaces had a plainly hostile meaning. Such examples could be easily multiplied.

Some tics, especially such as coprolalia, showed plainly an anal origin (as Ferenczi had also pointed out). Others, as for example the whistling tic, could be traced to anal activities (flatus). The hostile intention to degrade was attained in these cases by the anal route. Other tics imitated the contractures of the sphincter. Certain tics seemed actually to mimic the well known invitations of Götz von Berlichingen.[1]

On the basis of his observations, which he could not describe here in detail, it seemed to him that tic was a conversion symptom on the sadistic-anal plane. The following table might elucidate the conception:

Object love	Genital plane	Normal state	
		Control of the innervation of the organism	Ability to control psychic stimuli
Object love	Genital plane	Conversion hysteria	Anxiety Hysteria
Object love	Sadistic-anal plane	Tic	Obsessional Neurosis
Narcissism with transition to Auto-Erotism		Catatonia	Paranoid conditions

According to the above schedule, tic stood parallel to the obsessional neuroses, just as conversion hysteria was parallel to anxiety hysteria. Tic was a regression one step lower than the hysterical conversion symptom and approached nearer to catatonia than to hysteria. It belonged, so to speak, to the conversion series and not to the anxiety series.

[1] The reference here is to the play of this name by Goethe in which the hero, Götz, after refusing to capitulate, demonstrates his defiance to the besiegers of his castle by exhibiting his buttocks at the window (Translator's note).

The differences in the conception he had advanced in contradistinction to Ferenczi's exposition, did not in any way detract from the credit due to him, who was the first to undertake a comprehensive psycho-analytic consideration of tic. Although certain of Ferenczi's postulates had seemed to him erroneous, nevertheless they had given him hints which showed the way to the opinions expressed above.

Dr. van Ophuijsen thought Ferenczi's failure to give a clear definition of tic was a shortcoming of his paper. Though he had cited Trousseau's formulation, he included stereotypies with tics in the first part of his paper. This was misleading, for if one left out of the question the narrower meaning of this technical term, as it was applied in connection with the acts of schizophrenics, which were continously repeated in the same manner, obsessional acts (ceremonies) and 'bad habits' could be included as well as tics. Moreover it was also apparent that Ferenczi gave some examples of so-called tics which were true obsessional acts. In any case one should keep in mind the idea that a subjective feeling of obsession, perhaps motivated by anxiety, was never absent in obsessional acts, whereas a *tiqueur*, though he knew that his tics occurred without his will, sometimes without his being aware of them, was yet free from a feeling of obsession. It was certainly not true that the suppression of a tic gave rise to anxiety; this assertion was true in the case of obsessional acts but not in the case of tic.

The following example demonstrated how difficult it was to decide whether an act was a real tic. A boy had the habit of frequently opening his mouth, allowing his chin to sink to his chest and at the same time lowering his head a little. Then, with a sudden movement of his head backwards, he would shut his mouth and at the same time emit a sound something like 'Haung'. It turned out that this was the abbreviation of a prayer, which the boy used to repeat when he got his fear of robbers. Should one call this case an obsessional act or a defence symptom in an anxiety hysteria? If Ferenczi maintained that the 'maladie des tics' (Gilles de la Tourette) led to dementia, this must be based on some error; nevertheless if he was correct one argument fell away from his assumption that tic should be considered as an isolated regression to the narcissistic stage. The reference to chorea of the child was also incorrect, for even if this sickness exhibited

symptoms which resembled tics, certainly one was not dealing here with a psycho-neurosis.

Van Ophuijsen added, in connection with the arguments of Abraham, that in his opinion the boundaries between tics and obsessional acts ought not to be completely obliterated. Abraham's table even allowed one to keep in mind a differentiation whose analogy was to be found in hysteria. In anxiety-hysteria morbid fear was the main symptom; a conversion-hysteria symptom, however, was not accompanied by fear. Obsessional symptoms were characterized by a subjective feeling of obsession; tic was not accompanied by this feeling. One must remember this differentiation. In conclusion van Ophuijsen asked if it had been possible to determine whether an inflamed area which so often became the starting point of a tic possessed some anal significance in unconscious phantasies.

Dr. S. Ferenczi: The courtesy of the president enables me to participate, at least by correspondence, in this interesting discussion. Every reader of the paper which is being discussed must concede that Dr. van Ophuijsen points out the obvious when he calls attention to the incompleteness of this presentation, and especially of the definition of tic. As I expressly said, my formulation was intended only to serve as a preliminary orientation and to bring into prominence such problems as might arise from it. Thus it will entirely have fulfilled its purpose if it is successful in eliciting other points of view, as, for instance, the interesting contribution to the discussion by Abraham.

I admit that according to Abraham's experiences a higher valuation should be placed upon sadistic and anal-erotic impulsive components in the genesis of tics than I credited to them in my paper, but I may add that I did not overlook them. His 'conversion on a sadistic anal plane' is an original point of view and also important theoretically. I cannot refrain, however, from calling attention to the points which remain unshaken, even after acceptance of Abraham's position.

1. Tic, even in Abraham's formulation, is just as contiguous to the obsessional neurosis and hysteria as to catatonia.

2. The fundamental relationship of tic to catatonia (Abraham says 'resemblance') remains (as a localized motor defence in contradistinction to generalized catatonia).

3. The analogy between tic and the traumatic neurosis permits

us to classify this type of neurosis between the narcissistic and the transference neuroses. This intermediary position, as is well known, is also characteristic of the war neuroses.

4. The termination of the 'maladie des tics' in catatonia is a definitely established fact (see the reports of Gilles de la Tourette) even if it is not a very frequent occurrence.

I hope that the consideration of the 'regressions of the ego', to which the work of Freud on *Massenpsychologie* points the way, will also erase the differences which have still continued to exist in the elaboration of tic. In my work on the developmental stages of the reality-principle I have already expressed the opinion that in order to define any neurosis it will be necessary to state the ego-regression as well as the libido-regression characteristic of it. As a result especially of the observations made on psycho-neurotic tic, I now believe that the regression of the ego is far more extensive in this form of neurosis than in hysteria or obsessional neurosis (obsessional neurosis regresses to the 'omnipotence of thought', hysteria to 'magic gestures', tic to the plane of defence reflex). Future observations should determine whether the forcible suppression of a tic can provoke only 'tension states' or also true anxiety.

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THE BRITISH PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL SOCIETY

Seven meetings of the British Psycho-Analytical Society have been held since the last report.

The meetings held on January 13 and February 10 were devoted to the discussion of the questionnaire sent out by the Executive of the International Psycho-Analytical Association.

At the meeting on January 13 a discussion also took place as to whether any action should be taken with regard to the correspondence on psycho-analysis appearing in various daily newspapers. It was decided that no action should be taken unless special circumstances arose, in which case the Committee should have power to deal with them.

At the meeting on February 10, Dr. Ernest Jones mentioned a detail from the analysis of a patient who was an engineer and engaged on designing a particular type of engine. He was unable to decide a certain technical point in its structure, although he felt

this should be quite easy considering his special knowledge. The analysis showed that this particular point was unconsciously associated with early masturbatory practices and ideas, and on their becoming conscious he was immediately freed of his inhibition to see the point in question and was able to solve the problem.

At the meeting on March 10 Dr. Estelle Cole gave some notes on a new point in the symbolism of flute playing. The patient's dreams showed a direct association between the sound of whistling (air) and the act of micturition. There was marked urethral erotism in the case.

Dr. Ernest Jones mentioned that there were always three preliminary points to be especially noted with regard to symbolism.

1. Establishment of the fact of symbolism.
2. Tracing out its existence in other fields.
3. Determining the roots of association.

With reference to this particular symbolism Dr. Jones showed a picture by Félicien Rops portraying a female figure playing on a flute (large phallus) through which bubbles were blown which formed into new planets.

Dr. Waddelow Smith mentioned the case of a girl in a Mental Hospital who had attacks of nymphomania with homicidal inclinations towards nurses. These attacks suddenly changed in about three days to homosexual attraction with homicidal tendencies towards doctors and male persons. The whole attack lasted about a week, after which time an apparently normal sexually quiescent period would set in for about two months. No analysis of the case had been attempted, but Dr. Smith hoped to report more precise details later on.

At the meeting on April 14, Mr. Gough mentioned that he had collected several thousand dreams of children of eleven to twelve years of age from Central and Eastern Europe. He had noted that the sun, moon, or various planets appeared in about 60 per cent of the dreams of Czech children.

Miss Barbara Low made a few remarks on dreams that appeared in the form of myths.

Dr. Stoddart mentioned a case in which Lichen planus appeared as a neurotic symptom.

Mrs. Riviere mentioned that a chance remark on her part during an analysis brought up an association which succeeded in helping to remove a severe resistance in her patient.

At the meetings on May 19, June 16 and July 13, Mrs. Riviere read her translation of Freud's articles on technique. Discussions took place on various points arising from them.

At the meeting on July 13 Mr. Flügel gave an interesting account of his visit to Geneva and the psycho-analytical movement there.

DOUGLAS BRYAN, Hon. Sec.
July 24, 1921.

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THE NEW YORK PSYCHOANALYTIC SOCIETY

Report of the May Meeting

I

A psychoanalytic study of Friedrich Nietzsche, by Everett D. Martin. (Author's Abstract)

Nietzsche had a brilliant and cultivated mind and a personality endowed with great sensitiveness, violent emotional conflicts, and great candor. People who have been unsympathetic towards Nietzsche's teachings have for the most part been quite without scientific knowledge of psychology, and have for years sought to discredit his philosophy by appearing to find through all his writings evidences of an incipient psychosis. Max Nordau was a good example of this. It is enough to say that Nietzsche was throughout the greater part of his life unadjusted and that this fact influenced his thought to some extent. He felt this lack of adjustment himself, and a large part of his philosophy should best be understood as an attempt, to use his own words, 'to cure' himself. Undoubtedly, he struggled against a tendency to inversion and much of his philosophy of affirmation should doubtless be understood as compensation.

Was Nietzsche a paranoiac with a tendency to psychic homosexuality? Undoubtedly he had an unusual tendency to hero-worship which long survived his adolescence. His periods of most successful functioning seem to have been those during which he was the friend and apologist for some great man. His relations to Ritschel and Wagner and his violent attachment to such historical persons as Goethe, Schopenhauer, are cases in point.

It is precisely because of his own emotional conflicts and his critical struggle against his own tendencies to rationalization that Nietzsche has penetrated more deeply than others into those systems of rationalization which are commonly confused with popular social thinking. Here we find, to my mind, the most fruitful connection between Nietzsche and Analytical Psychology. As a social psychologist, Nietzsche anticipates those who approach the problems of social psychology from a psycho-analytical standpoint. He understands with remarkable perspicacity the significance of the unconscious. He says that the social psychologist of the future must be a 'vivisectionist', that he must accustom himself to 'the most diabolical squinting out of every abyss of iniquity'. He loves to speak of the 'Jesuitism' and 'Tartuffery ' of our instincts. Nietzsche says that in modern civilisation, the natural order of rank is upset and that the unconscious Will to Power of lower men is at work destroying the values of civilization and that this down-pulling tendency is always rationalized as herd morality, patriotism, religion, brotherly love, Christian ethics, etc. These forms of rationalization, says Nietzsche, are but disguised instruments, weapons of the meek, by which sick people—spiritually sick and defectives—seek to limit their superiors and thus have a better opportunity of survival in the struggle for existence.

II

Bergson and Freud: Some points of correspondence, by Dr. Albert Polon. This paper will be published in full in the Journal.

Adolph Stern, Secretary
July 20, 1921.

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